

A Literary Analysis of 1QH 10-17:36

by
Bobby Kwok-Yuen Chum

Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
2000



TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The History of Scholarship	1
1.2 The Issue of Authorship	12
1.3 Present Tasks	14
1.3.1 Purpose and Significance	14
1.3.2 Scope and Limitations	16
1.3.3 The Methodology	18
CHAPTER TWO: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE “TEACHER HYMNS”	20
2.1 The Categories of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen	20
2.2 The Categories of Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn	21
2.3 The Categories of Schulz and Stegemann	25
2.4 The Categories of Tanzer and Douglas	28
2.5 Excursus: The Use of Scripture in the Hodayot	30
2.6 Conclusion	32
CHAPTER THREE: THE “I” OF 1QH 10-17:36 AND HIS ENEMIES	37
3.1 1QH 10:1-21	39
3.1.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	39
3.1.2 Structure and Content	41
3.1.3 Literary Affinity	43
3.2 1QH 10:22-32	45
3.2.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	45
3.2.2 Structure and Content	47
3.2.3 Literary Affinity	48
3.3 1QH 10:33-41	50
3.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	50
3.3.2 Structure and Content	51
3.3.3 Literary Affinity	52
3.4 1QH 12:6-13:6	53
3.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	53
3.4.2 Structure and Content	57
3.4.3 Literary Affinity	61
3.5 1QH 13:7-21	62

3.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	62
3.5.2 Structure and Content	64
3.5.3 Literary Affinity	68
3.6 Conclusion	69

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SUFFERING AND VICTORIOUS “I”

OF 1QH 10-17:36	72
4.1 1QH 11:1-19	72
4.1.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	72
4.1.2 Structure and Content	74
4.1.3 Literary Affinity	76
4.2 1QH 11:20-37	77
4.2.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	77
4.2.2 Structure and Content	79
4.2.3 Literary Affinity	81
4.3 1QH 11:38-12:5	83
4.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	83
4.3.2 Literary Affinity	83
4.4 1QH 13:22-15:8	84
4.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	84
4.4.2 Structure and Content	90
4.4.3 Literary Affinity	97
4.5 1QH 15:9-28	99
4.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	99
4.5.2 Structure and Content	101
4.5.3 Literary Affinity	102
4.6 1QH 15:37-16:4	104
4.6.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	104
4.6.2 Literary Affinity	104
4.7 1QH 16:5-17:36	105
4.7.1 Hebrew Text and Translation	105
4.7.2 Structure and Content	110
4.7.3 Literary Affinity	112
4.8 Conclusion	113

CHAPTER FIVE: THE REDACTIONAL SHAPE OF 1QH 10-17:36

5.1 Relationship between Group I and II	117
5.1.1 1QH 10:1-21	117
5.1.2 1QH 10:22-32	118
5.1.3 1QH 10:33-41	119
5.1.4 1QH 12:6-13:6	120
5.1.5 1QH 13:7-21	121
5.1.6 Summary	121
5.2 Possible Use of Literary Sources in 1QH 10-17:36	123
5.2.1 1QH 10:1-21	124
5.2.2 1QH 11:1-19	124
5.2.3 1QH 11:20-37	125

5.2.4 1QH 12:6-13:6	126
5.2.5 1QH 13:22-15:8	129
5.2.6 1QH 16:5-17:36	130
5.3 Conclusion	131
 CHAPTER SIX: THE “I” OF 1QH 10-17:36 AND THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS	133
6.1 The Date and Provenance of the Hodayot Scroll	133
6.2 The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts	135
6.3 A Literary Comparison between 1QH 10-17:36 and other DSS Texts about the Teacher	138
6.4 Conclusion	142
 CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	144
 APPENDIX: TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE “COMMUNITY HYMNS”	148
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	191

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have composed this thesis and that the work contained herein is my own.

Bobby Kwok-Yuen Chum

1st June, 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Articles and monographs devoted to Qumran studies continue to pour forth without any sign of abating. I have been able to interact to a limited extent with more recent literature. Douglas' dissertation came to my attention after I was well into my research. Although this dissertation is in some ways similar to his, our findings are quite different. An attempt has been made to discuss in detail where our approaches differ. The recent publication of Eileen Schuller's *editio princeps* arrived too late for full consideration.

Anyone who has written a dissertation knows that its completion is made possible by a number of factors. I was financially supported by the Faculty of Divinity Scholarship. The Gunning Foundation also allowed me to attend a Modern Hebrew course at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1997. I record my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Timothy Lim, for his steady encouragement, careful advice, and ready accessibility. Under his direction I first studied the Dead Sea Scrolls in Hebrew. His meticulous reading and knowledge of Hebrew saved me from a number of errors.

I am indebted to a number of people. Shirley Wong proofread the whole dissertation at short notice and yet provided me with many corrections. The errors that remain are of course due to my own oversight. My sister Yin Fong helped with the printing. Some friends and fellow students have shown constant support: Queenie Cheong, Darren Fung, Sek Ming Ng, Tony Se and Shirley Wong. I am also grateful to the members of the Chinese Evangelical Church in Edinburgh for their fellowship and support. In particular, I would like to thank Ka Leung Wong and his wife Christina for their encouragement and the enrichment of their friendship. I still remember vividly the many fruitful discussions over their dinner table, from which I have benefited immensely. My deepest thanks go to my brothers and sisters, without whom this dissertation could not have been written.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archeologist</i>
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DBI	<i>A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation.</i> Ed. R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden. London: SCM Press, 1990.
DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judean Desert</i>
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , 2nd English Edition
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NJBC	<i>The New Jerome Biblical Commentary.</i> Ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989.
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SH	Scripta Hierosolymitana
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WZU Leipzig	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Leipzig</i>

ABSTRACT

The relationship of the Hodayot collection (1QH) to the Teacher of Righteousness has been of considerable interest ever since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Using form-critical and linguistic analyses, a few German scholars, among whom Jeremias and Stegemann may be mentioned, have attributed a subset of the Hodayot to the Teacher. All "Teacher Hymns" identified by various scholars surprisingly fall within 1QH 10-17:36. This dissertation makes use of a different literary approach and attempts to determine whether the hymns in 1QH 10-17:36 might have come from one author or several, whether literary sources have been used, and whether one of the authors was the Teacher of Righteousness. An overview of the criteria previous scholarship has used to isolate the "Teacher Hymns" from the "Community Hymns" is presented in Chapter Two. The interrelationship of the "Teacher Hymns" and their relationships to the "Community Hymns" are analysed. Two groups of Hodayot in the "Teacher Hymns" are identified, each with its distinctive traits of style, content, and vocabulary. Chapter Three and Four are dedicated to the discussion of Group I and Group II, respectively. Chapter Five discusses the relationship between these two groups of hymns and explores the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36. Chapter Six addresses the issue of authorship. An attempt is made to determine whether either Group I or Group II or both might have been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Chapter Seven provides a summary of the findings of this dissertation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Among the first seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1 at Qumran is the *Hodayot* (הודיות) collection, or Thanksgiving Scroll, a title given by the late Professor Sukenik, so called after the introductory words of many of the psalms. Scholars have repeatedly drawn upon the *Hodayot* collection (1QH [strictly 1QH^a]) to illuminate the religious ideas of the Qumran community, and in particular, the life and experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness. There are a few who have made an attempt to uncover the structure of its poetry. This opening chapter presents a survey of what has been done in the *Hodayot* study and provides an orientation to the scholarly debate on the issue of authorship.

1.1 *The History of Scholarship*

Nothing is more appropriate than to start our journey from the first editor Sukenik, whose impression of the *Hodayot* has in several important respects set the agenda for much of the discussion that follows:

The *Thanksgiving Scroll* is a collection of songs expressing the views and feelings of one of the members of the sect whose writings were discovered in the Dead Sea *genizah*. Imitating the style of the Psalms, the songs express thanks for the acts of kindness God has performed for their author. . . . A possible inference is that the author was the Teacher of Righteousness often mentioned in these scrolls as well as in the “Zadokite Document” of the Damascus Covenanters. His complaint over being compelled to leave his country – “he thrusts me out of my land like a bird from its nest” (col. 4, 1.9) - corresponds to the statement in the *Habakkuk Commentary* that the “Wicked Priest” forced the Righteous Teacher into exile from the country (col. 11, 1. 6).¹

Implicit in Sukenik’s statements is that the *Hodayot* collection is a literary unity and all the hymns are the product of a single author. Even more important is his suggestion that the author was the Teacher of Righteousness. These hymns are believed to have been recounting in detail the depths of his convictions and the sufferings he endured as a result of his faithfulness to God’s calling.

¹ Sukenik (1955: 39).

The possibility of the Teacher's authorship has received considerable interest and discussion. Dupont-Sommer, though accepting that the hymns could have been written by one of the disciples of the Teacher, avers that "the collection is at least to be considered as an ancient work of the sect, authentically and profoundly stamped with the personality and doctrine of the Teacher."² By reconstructing the original order of the columns, Carmignac claims to have traced the historical context out of which the Teacher might have written the hymns.³ He even states that the rearrangement of the columns in the *Hodayot* collection has helped detect the changes in the life of the Teacher. So, a possibility has turned out to be a hypothesis, one being held by early scholars.⁴

However, this is not unanimous among the translators of the *Hodayot*. Licht observes that there is a certain tension existing between the author and his fellow members in some of the hymns.⁵ His observation leads him to conclude that the author must have been an important leader of the sect. He considers the Teacher to be a plausible candidate but prefers to attribute the hymns to either a מבקר "overseer" or a משכיל "teacher."⁶ Bardtke believes that the "I" of the *Hodayot* is really an individual but the personal experiences of this individual "I" do not necessarily refer to the Teacher of Righteousness and might well apply to any member of the sect, just as he writes, "A supposer que le Maître de Justice ait été l'auteur, même alors ce qu'il rapporte de ses propres expériences n'aura pu trouver place dans les *Hodayoth* qu'à condition d'être également applicable à tout membre de la Secte."⁷ Gaster, interpreting the hymns more or less as a product of mystical experience, argues: "What the text is describing is the normal and typical frustration of the mystic - the experience of *every* man who believes that he has seen God and that he is burning a small candle in the darkness of a world unredeemed."⁸ Burrows

² Dupont-Sommer (1957: 10-20, 1961: 200). Similarly, Russell (1967: 294) comments, "even if they [the thanksgiving hymns] do not owe their origin to the Teacher, they bear the stamp of his teaching and the mark of his personality."

³ Carmignac (1958-59, 1959-60a, 1961: 129-45, 1962: 133-58).

⁴ Glanzman (1952: 490), Hyatt (1955-56: 27), Milik (1959: 74-77), Ringgren (1995: 15-6), van der Ploeg (1958: 175-76), Yadin (1957: 107-11).

⁵ Licht (1957: 23-4).

⁶ Licht (1957: 25). Likewise, Gevanyahu (1973: 56) suggests that the author "may represent the outstanding personality of the sect. The description could just as well fit the founder and first leader of the sect, and those who succeeded him."

⁷ Bardtke (1956a: 232), see also his discussion in Bardtke (1956-7: 93-104).

⁸ Gaster (1957: 120).

vigorously contends that too little information exists to argue for the authorship of the Teacher.⁹

Moreover, scholarship has recognized the *Hodayot* to be an important source for the study of the theological concepts of the Qumran community. According to Licht, “DST [the Thanksgiving Scroll] is the work of one man developing what is almost a single theme in a long series of variations.”¹⁰ Without much concern about identifying the author, he claims that an understanding of the author’s doctrines provides a key to the analysis of each psalm.¹¹ He moves on to give a systematic treatment of the author’s doctrines, interpreting the *Hodayot* in the light of the two spirits’ passage (1QS 3:13-4:26). But how can one understand the author’s doctrines without first grappling with each psalm? It would appear that Licht has taken for granted the single author hypothesis and the uniformity of the *Hodayot* collection. Even more, by fitting the *Hodayot* into the two spirits’ doctrine, he has failed to do justice to some of the hymns.¹²

Two other scholars have provided similar treatments of the doctrines of the *Hodayot*: Mansoor and Holm-Nielsen.¹³ Their works are quite different from that of Licht in many respects. They both have tried to do full justice to the *Hodayot*, formulating the doctrines on the basis of their analysis on each psalm. Holm-Nielsen’s work is worth mentioning here. He discusses at great length the question of authorship as well as the problem of *Sitz im Leben*. Another remarkable feature of his work is his detailed treatment of the use of the Old Testament in the *Hodayot*. As a result of his analysis, he concludes that the *Hodayot* collection is not homogeneous and can be classified into two categories: thanksgiving psalms and hymns.¹⁴ His

⁹ Burrows (1958: 324-29).

¹⁰ Licht (1956: 2). The unity of the *Hodayot* is affirmed in his book (Licht 1957: 22-23). Similarly, Hyatt (1955-56: 276) states that the *Hodayot* collection seems to be “the product of a single author, whose experiences and feelings they vividly reflect.”

¹¹ Licht (1956: 2).

¹² For instance, his interpretation of IQH 4:38 is questionable (Licht 1956: 5-6). In IQH 4:38 it says, “thou hast created the righteous and the wicked.” He takes this verse as somehow related to 1QS 3:17-19, where God is said to have placed into man two spirits: the spirits of truth and injustice. The author of the *Hodayot*, according to Licht, seems to know all about the cosmic battle between the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, an idea which does not appear in the text. What’s more, this verse, as he claims, *teaches* about divine predestination. Attractive as it may seem, this conclusion is quite inconclusive.

¹³ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 273-300), Mansoor (1961: 52-92).

¹⁴ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 320) aptly discerns, “The more one busies oneself with the *Hodayot*, the more their apparent uniformity disappears. In the treatment of the individual psalms, I have attempted to demonstrate that, on the basis of their content, they can be divided into two large groups, of which

group of thanksgiving psalms concerns 2:7-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-3:2(?), 3:3-18, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25 and 8:4-9:36. Even more, he puts a weighty argument against the Teacher's authorship and argues for the liturgical use of the hymns in the prayer of the Qumran community.¹⁵ He warns that the considerable degree of dependence upon the Old Testament both in content and in style should make one cautious in identifying the "I" of the *Hodayot*, let alone applying a concrete historical interpretation.¹⁶ He is much inclined to consider the author as a "collective I," in that any member of the community might have composed the hymns.

There are a number of scholars whose interest lies in the study of a specific doctrine, such as eschatology, human nature, immortality, messianism, predestination, and suffering.¹⁷ Merrill's work on predestination must be mentioned for his approach to the study of the *Hodayot*. First, he interprets the *Hodayot* in the light of other Qumran documents, such as the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, and the Damascus Document (CD). Merrill believes that the author of the *Hodayot* and the Teacher are the same. He then claims: "The Teacher removed himself from normative Judaism in early Maccabean times (ca. 150 B.C.), founded a

the one is concerned in a more technical way with the conditions of the community, while the other expresses, on the basis of this same community, the view of the surrounding world based upon its relationship to God. This division I have further confirmed on the basis of style, since the group which is more closely linked to the community can be described, on the basis of the Old Testament examples, as hymns, while the other group belongs to the category of psalms of thanksgiving, even if they are strongly influenced by the psalms of complaint. Moreover, it would appear from a treatment of the use of Scripture in the *Hodayot* that, in this respect as well, there is recognisable difference, the psalms of thanksgiving being far more fitly described as a 'mosaic of Scriptures' than the hymns are."

¹⁵ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 348) comments, "the *Hodayot* must be understood as examples of the Qumran community's liturgical prayers and songs of praise. They are an expression of the faith of the community, but they are not poems for instruction in dogmatics. They rest upon the existence of the community and upon its history, but they will not in themselves recount the history. They are phrased in the words of the individual to portray his assurance of salvation and fear of perdition in an existence where the battle lies between the power of God and the powers of Belial, but the individual is not any one definite historical person."

¹⁶ In agreement with Holm-Nielsen, Hopkins (1979-81: 335-6) asserts that "the claims for one author writing a uniform IQH psalm collection infused with his own personal experiences do not stand up under scrutiny. ... We must conclude that 1 QH is a varied collection of rhythmic prose authored by different people at different times and that none of the IQH material demands Teacher authorship." Kittel (1981: 10) is also skeptical about any attempt at attributing the hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness, "Because of the eschatological and apocalyptic viewpoint of the scrolls, no identification of the Teacher as the author of the *Hodayot* is possible. He may have been the author of some or all of the psalms, but it is just as possible that another, or several others of the sect, could have composed them. One thing must be admitted; a collection of psalms, composed in the biblical pattern, all belonging to one literary category, is unusual and may point to an author or redactor with a highly original viewpoint."

¹⁷ Chamberlain (1955a), Collins (1984: 133-8), Hyatt (1955-56), Laurin (1958), Merrill (1975), Puech (1993), Thiering (1972-75).

community of likeminded Essenes at Qumran, and produced the Thanksgiving Hymns sometime before he met his apparently violent death.”¹⁸ On this basis, he opts for the didactic use of all the hymns and confidently states that the *Hodayot* must have been the official or orthodox Qumranian dogma.¹⁹ For Merrill, the Teacher’s authorship forms the basis not only for his evaluation of the problem of divine predestination and human freedom, but also for the reconstruction of the history of the community.

Not only does the *Hodayot* collection offer considerable religious value, but also provides good material for literary analysis. The *Hodayot* are frequently considered to be inferior to the biblical psalms, falling short of the Old Testament standard in terms of originality. Licht remarks that the *Hodayot* collection is “on the whole rather humdrum, and does not seem to possess any high degree of literary merit. It is also very repetitive, to the point of monotony.”²⁰ A few scholars simply regard it as “rhythmic prose.”²¹ Johnson even states that the *Hodayot* “do not appear to be of any great literary merit.”²²

Scholars have tried to fit the *Hodayot* into the structures already discerned in the biblical psalms. Kraft²³ is a case in point. He sets out to analyse a number of psalms using the three aspects of Hebrew poetry: parallelism, meter, and strophic structure. He encounters too many poetic irregularities that he simply does not know what to make of them. He decides to leave them for further investigation. A similar treatment is taken up by Thiering.²⁴ At the outset Thiering claims that it is necessary to discover the poetic structures of the *Hodayot*. She believes that the principle of “chiasmus,” which can be found in the biblical psalms, is the key to unlocking the poetry of the *Hodayot*, but she finds it difficult to fit one or two thanksgiving psalms into the chiasmic structure. By and large, Kraft and Thiering have both failed to let the *Hodayot* speak for themselves in structural matters, as will be shown.

According to Frank Cross, the *Hodayot* collection is a product of the post-exilic period and is thus of high literary value:

¹⁸ Merrill (1975: 10).

¹⁹ Merrill (1975: 57).

²⁰ Licht (1956: 1-2).

²¹ E.g., Hopkins (1979-81: 331), Ringgren (1995: 14).

²² Johnson (1951: 165).

²³ Kraft (1957).

²⁴ Thiering (1963).

Analysis of the literary types, the prosody, and the language and theological motifs of these documents [the Thanksgiving Hymns] will greatly expand our knowledge of the development of late Old Testament psalmody on the one hand, and will illuminate on the other hand difficult problems in the study of the literary types and prosodic canons of New Testament psalms (especially in the prologue of Luke) and poetry.²⁵

Ehlen's dissertation is a step forward in this area of study.²⁶ He makes an attempt to unearth the structure of the psalmody of the Second Temple period. His purpose is to trace the evolution of the post-exilic psalmody and demonstrate the prosodic effect using three linguistic elements, namely auditory, grammatical, and semantic. Unfortunately, his study is limited to the analysis of a single thanksgiving hymn from the *Hodayot*, and does not contribute enough to our knowledge of late Old Testament psalmody.

A significant advance in the study of the poetry of the *Hodayot* is made by Bonnie Kittel.²⁷ It is her contention that a thorough study of the poetry of the *Hodayot* is the groundwork for a better understanding of their theology. She examines eight thanksgiving hymns in great detail and attempts to explore their poetic conventions. She discovers many features peculiar to the *Hodayot*, such as longer cola, frequent use of the infinitive, lists, envelope parallelism, and longer line length.²⁸ Her analysis in some ways offers insight into the theological themes of the hymns. Here is an invaluable work that integrates poetry with theology.

In an analysis different from Kittel's, Horgan and Kobelski have taken up the task as set out by Cross.²⁹ They briefly examine the *Hodayot* and the two New Testament (NT) hymns, namely the Magnificat (Luke 1:47-55) and the Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79). The literary features compared are themes, structure, use of biblical language, parallelism, and grammatical phenomena. The many similarities between the *Hodayot* and the two Lucan hymns have brought the two scholars to the conclusion that the *Hodayot* can indeed form a poetic bridge between the poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures and poetic passages in the NT.

A particular poetic feature of the *Hodayot* has been investigated in a recent dissertation by Williams.³⁰ Williams attempts to trace any possible patterns of

²⁵ Cross (1995: 122-23).

²⁶ Ehlen (1969).

²⁷ Kittel (1981).

²⁸ For details, see "Synthesis: Poetic Techniques of the *Hodayot*" (Kittel 1981: 155-72).

²⁹ Horgan and Kobelski (1989: 179-93).

³⁰ Williams (1991).

diachronic development in the use of parallelism from early biblical poetry to the poetry of the Second Temple Period. He sets out to analyse the parallelism in the *Hodayot* and compares it with the data obtained from similar studies in early biblical poetry, Isaiah 1-18 and Isaiah 40-45.³¹ As a result of his analysis, Williams discovers seventeen similarities among the four corpora, suggesting that the texts in question belong to the same prosodic tradition. At the same time there are significant differences between the *Hodayot* and the other three corpora. The following are just a few distinguishing characteristics of the *Hodayot*: smaller ratio of couplets to triplets, fewer lines of 3 grammatical units, more triplets with a 2:2:2 grammatical unit count, more semantic parallelism.³²

In general, the *Hodayot* are similar to one of the *Gattungen* identified by Gunkel, the “thank offering songs.”³³ Most of the hymns contain more or less the traditional elements of the biblical thanksgiving psalms: the introduction, the narrative with its three points (i.e. the poet's distress, his cry for help, and his deliverance), and the confession before the congregation. A few hymns are also mixed with elements of the lament or complaint.³⁴ A detailed *formgeschichtliche* examination of the *Hodayot* has been undertaken by Morawe. In Morawe's opinion, the *Hodayot* collection consists of two *Gattungen*: “*individuelle Danklieder*” and “*hymnische Bekenntnislieder*.”³⁵ He points out that some of the *Gattungselemente* from the *Danklieder*, e.g., distress reports, do not appear in the other group, which tends to have more hymnic elements. Morawe's list of *individuelle Danklieder* includes: 2:3-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 3:19-36, 3:37-4:4, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-36(?), 6:1-36, 7:1-5; 7:6-25; 8:4-9:36. Surprisingly, Holm-Nielsen and Morawe, though using different approaches, have divided the *Hodayot* into “individual thanksgiving songs” and “hymns.” Remarkable is the fact that they have come up with almost the same list of hymns for both categories. Their seminal studies have called into question the homogeneity of the *Hodayot* collection and the single author hypothesis. Had the *Hodayot* been penned by the same author one would have expected a higher degree of uniformity in its form and structure.

Jeremias' monumental work on *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* has opened a new

³¹ Williams has obtained his data from Geller (1979), Worgul (1986), Elliot-Hogg (1986).

³² For details, see Williams (1991: 821-8).

³³ Gunkel (1967: 120-22), see also Eissfeldt (1966: 655), Mowinckel (1956), Silberman (1956).

³⁴ See Thiering, (1972-75: 396-400), Kittel (1981: 2-3).

³⁵ Morawe (1961).

scholarly debate on the relationship of the *Hodayot* to the Teacher of Righteousness.³⁶ From the outset Jeremias questions the literary unity of the *Hodayot* collection. He classifies the *Hodayot* into three genres: hymns, didactic psalms, and thanksgiving songs. He observes that “Das ‚Ich‘, das in diesen Psalmen [Danklieder] redet, unterscheidet sich so deutlich von dem ‚Ich‘ in den anderen Psalmen-Gruppen, daß schon dieser Tatbestand gegen die literarische Einheitlichkeit der *Hodayot* spricht.”³⁷ To the group of *Danklieder* Jeremias assigns the following: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. He points out that the ‘I’ of these *Danklieder* played a special role in the Qumran community and claimed to be a “salvation bringer.” Such an unusual claim of authority in the community leads Jeremias to the conclusion that the Teacher of Righteousness was the author of these *Danklieder*. This group of *Danklieder* is then designated the “Teacher Hymns.”

Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns” has been subsequently modified by Becker and Kuhn. Becker, in his book *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament*, discerns that the hymns among themselves show difference in style and content.³⁸ His search for “Teacher Hymns” starts with a basic core, which he selects on the basis of the nature of the individual “I.” He then includes other hymns through lexical links. The final list of hymns he has attributed to the Teacher includes: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 3:37-4:4, 4:5-29a, 5:5-19, 5:20-39, 6:1-36, 7:1-5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. In his analysis of Morawe’s list of *hymnische Bekenntnislieder*, Kuhn argues that *das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers* is an important criterion by which the “Teacher Hymns” can be distinguished from the rest of the *Hodayot*, which he designates *Gemeindelieder*.³⁹ On this basis, he classifies six *Hodayot* as the “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1(?)–19, 4:5–5:4 (with 4:29–5:4 as a secondary addition), 5:5–19, 5:20–6:36(?), 7:6–25, 8:4–40.

Another two German scholars agree with Jeremias that a subset of the *Hodayot* was composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. Schulz, whose approach is similar to that of Jeremias, sets out to examine one particular aspect of the Teacher, that is, his claim to authority in the community.⁴⁰ Through form-critical and linguistic

³⁶ Jeremias (1963).

³⁷ Jeremias (1963: 170).

³⁸ Becker (1963: 50–6).

³⁹ Kuhn (1966: 21–6).

⁴⁰ Schulz (1974).

analyses, he distinguishes a group of psalms from the rest of the *Hodayot*. He ascribes the authorship of these eight thanksgiving psalms to the Teacher: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. In his examination of the origin of the Qumran community, Stegemann firmly believes that some of the *Hodayot* have revealed to us the life of the Teacher.⁴¹ He accepts most of “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias, with the exception of 3:1-18, 7:6-25 and 8:4-40. To Jeremias’ list Stegemann adds 2:20-30 and 7:34-8:3 on the ground that the terms or concepts employed in describing the author’s enemies are similar to those found in the Pesharim and CD. His list of “Teacher Hymns” is: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3. In his recent book, Stegemann has expanded his list up to seventeen hymns, all falling within columns 1-11 in Sukenik’s numbering.⁴²

As a result of the work of these German scholars, two conceptual terms, “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns,” have been introduced into *Hodayot* scholarship.⁴³ The hypothesis that a number of hymns within columns 2-9 in Sukenik’s numbering were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness has received scholarly support.⁴⁴ In her study of the rhetorical strategies in 1QH 5:20-7:5, Newsom provides the following list of “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 4:5-4:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-9:36, 14:8-22.⁴⁵ She simply states, “I am persuaded that there is good reason for concluding that the Qumran community read the compositions listed above (with the possible exception of 14:8-22 [P. 6:19-33]) as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness.”⁴⁶ John Collins finds the distinction of a group of “Teacher Hymns”

⁴¹ Stegemann (1971).

⁴² Stegemann (1998: 107).

⁴³ In recent studies, scholars have already made use of this terminology. See, e.g., Minde (1992: 439), Puech (1993: 336-419), VanderKam (1994: 62-4), Schuller (1994: 137-50).

⁴⁴ Schweitzer (1991), Gluskina (1991), Charlesworth (1992a, 1992b). This is not to claim that the hypothesis has received no criticisms. For instance, Vermes (1981: 27) criticises, “Some German scholars, in particular Gert Jeremias and Hartmut Stegemann, have attempted to bridge further gaps in the Maccabaeen historical canvas. Subjecting some of the Hymns to a form-critical analysis, and assuming furthermore that the Teacher of Righteousness was their author, they have deduced from vague poetic hints a whole detailed story of an internal struggle among the sectaries. But I am afraid that the matter is far too conjectural for any serious consideration.”

⁴⁵ Newsom (1990a: 122).

⁴⁶ Newsom (1990a: 123). Newsom has introduced a new approach to the study of the *Hodayot*. Whether the Teacher actually composed the hymn, as far as Newsom is concerned, is not of great significance. What is important is that the Qumran community read the hymn as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness. Apparently, Newsom has regarded the Teacher as the implied author. Besides, she has drawn our attention to the rhetorical dimensions of the *Hodayot*. In another article, Newsom (1990b: 172-79) suggests that the use of content/rhetoric is one of the three criteria by which

quite commendable.⁴⁷

Tanzer has espoused the distinction between “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns” in her dissertation, “Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the *Hodayot*.”⁴⁸ In addition to Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns,” she includes four more: 2:20-30, 3:19-36, 3:37-4:4, 7:34-8:3.⁴⁹ Tanzer also introduces a group of “hybrid” hymns in the *Hodayot*.⁵⁰ For instance, she takes 3:19-36 as a “Teacher Hymn” and recognises that it is a “hybrid,” making use of materials adapted from the Hymns of the Community and an unidentified apocalyptic source in 20b-24a and 24b-36, respectively. Tanzer’s suggestion that there is a complex process of redaction in the *Hodayot* collection should merit serious consideration.

Unlike other scholars, Davies proposes that the *Hodayot* should be used as a source for the interpretation of the data in other Qumran commentaries.⁵¹ He asserts that the *Hodayot* are “autobiographical” compositions.⁵² He grounds his hypothesis on the evidence that many biblical psalms have been attributed to a historical figure with a concrete historical setting. He seems to have forgotten Burrows’ sober warning: “[S]uch fanciful inferences remind one forcibly of the traditional titles attached to the Psalms of the Old Testament, which attempt to connect each Psalm with an event in the life of David.”⁵³ As critical as he claims to be, Davies too finds the Teacher’s authorship indispensable in his interpretation.⁵⁴ It is quite understandable that, without such an assumption, he has no means of comparing the

one may judge whether or not a text is sectarian. For a brief summary of rhetorical criticism, see Tribble (1994: 5-87).

⁴⁷ Collins (1992b: 94).

⁴⁸ Tanzer (1986).

⁴⁹ Tanzer (1986: 136-41). While Jeremias takes 8:4-9:36 as two separate hymns, Tanzer considers it to be one hymn.

⁵⁰ A table listing all the “hybrids” is given in her dissertation (Tanzer 1986: 135).

⁵¹ Davies (1987: 87-106), see also Schweitzer (1991: 66-73) who has followed Davies’ line of interpretation.

⁵² See Flusser (1984: 562). Flusser has called our attention to “a special autobiographical poetical genre” in the Second Temple period. Interestingly, King David seems to have been a prominent figure in those psalms.

⁵³ Burrows (1958: 329).

⁵⁴ From the outset Davies (1987: 89-90) says: “For very many modern scholars have either argued, or taken for granted, that the Qumran Hymns were composed by the ‘Teacher of Righteousness,’ and therefore that he experienced what their contents describe. This view is not unanimous, of course, and I would prefer to remain *entirely sceptical* of such attribute. But I would certainly take it for granted that within the Qumran community these hymns - and at the very least the autobiographical ones - were understood to be compositions of the ‘Teacher’.” [italics mine]

historical data in the *Hodayot* with those in the commentaries.

In determining whether the *Hodayot* offers useful information for historical reconstruction, Callaway has undertaken an analysis on the “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias and Stegemann.⁵⁵ He compares the language about the “I” and the enemies with the similar language in the Pesharim and CD and concludes, “One has the impression that the speaker is not referring to specific, historical enemies, since there is no concern with detailing their activities. ... Thus these psalms are not useful as independent pieces of evidence concerning persons involved in the history of the Qumran community.”⁵⁶ Knibb is of the same opinion:

... It is difficult to interpret the Qumran *Hymns* as referring to the concrete experiences of a specific individual. It is impossible to say whether the ‘Hymns of the Teacher’, much less the collection as a whole, were composed by the teacher or not, but they cannot be used to reconstruct details of the career and character of the teacher – any more than the confession of Jeremiah can be used to do the same for Jeremiah. Nor do I find any evidence for the suggestion made by Philip Davies that, whoever wrote the *Hymns* “within the Qumran community these hymns – and at the very least the autobiographical ones – were understood to be compositions of the ‘Teacher’.”⁵⁷

So far no scholarly theory has commanded a consensus on the issue of authorship. In his chapter on “The Judean Desert,” Murphy-O’Connor proposes that the hymns of Kuhn’s list (2:1-19, 4:5-29, 5:5-19, 5:20-6:36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40) should be attributed to a single historic figure.⁵⁸ He then calls for a consensus: “Given what we now know of the history of the sect, a refusal to identify this figure with the Teacher of Righteousness smacks of pedantic prudence.”⁵⁹ In a recent article, he makes a definitive answer to the question of authorship:

Despite certain hypercritical reserves, it is *certain* that these hymns are the work of a single author and the radical nature of his claims to be the ultimate religious authority (1QH 2:13; 5:22-23; 7:12; cf. CD 20:1) makes the Teacher *the only plausible candidate*. Attempts have been made to use the hymns to fill out the career of the Teacher, but all specific biographical inferences are excluded by the fact that the texts are a tissue of OT citations and allusions. At most the hymns reveal the inner life of the Teacher. [*italics mine*]⁶⁰

Despite the bold assertion of Murphy-O’Connor, some scholars remain

⁵⁵ Callaway (1988: 190-97).

⁵⁶ Callaway (1988: 197).

⁵⁷ Knibb (1990: 54), see also Knibb (1988: 158).

⁵⁸ Murphy-O’Connor (1986: 130-31).

⁵⁹ Murphy-O’Connor (1986: 131).

⁶⁰ Murphy-O’Connor (1992: 341).

unconvinced. Vermes, in the latest edition of his book, expresses reservation about the Teacher's authorship.⁶¹ In his recent book on *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, Maier has the same reservation.⁶² In a recent article on the history of the Qumran community, Ulfgard declines to use the *Hodayot* as a source of information for reconstructing the life of the Teacher, as he comments:

As to the *Hodayot* Psalms (1QH), whose author often speaks in the first person, it has been suggested that they were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. I do not, however, want to discuss them at all, since their authorship is very much debated, and – above all – since they do not contribute greatly to the specific questions about the person of the Teacher and about Qumran origins and history. In these texts, the author identifies himself and his situation to a large extent by using and referring to Scripture, which means that it is often difficult to say when the author is speaking about his own personal experience and when he is merely using pre-existing concepts. The reconstruction of Qumranic history from allusions in the *Hodayot* Psalms is even more uncertain. Thus, I find it better not to bring any of these texts into this investigation.⁶³

Ulfgard's statement has brought us to the end of our survey. That a single author might have written a uniform psalm collection, as suggested first by Sukenik, no longer receives scholarly support. It is now believed that there are hymns which might have been composed by the Teacher of Righteousness on the one hand; on the other, there are hymns which might have reflected the outlook and views of any member of the Qumran community. The former is designated the "Teacher Hymns" whereas the latter the "Community Hymns." While the "Teacher Hymns" was intended for didactic use within the community, the "Community Hymns" was used liturgically in cult ceremonies at Qumran.⁶⁴ After fifty years of research, most scholars go no further than the position that the aforementioned group of hymns is the work of the Teacher, but a few, among whom Stegemann and Davies may be mentioned, have attempted to interpret this group of hymns as giving factual information about the career of the Teacher.

1.2 *The Issue of Authorship*

The matter of great interest in the study of the *Hodayot* is the issue of authorship. Jeremias and others have argued on literary grounds that a subset of the *Hodayot* was

⁶¹ Vermes (1994: 51).

⁶² Maier (1996: 7).

⁶³ Ulfgard (1998: 313).

⁶⁴ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 332-48), Kuhn (1966: 29-33), Hopkins (1979-81: 336-8), Charlesworth (1986: 414), Minde (1992: 439). David Aune (1972: 37-42) has taken the cultic use of the *Hodayot* as a means of experiencing (or actualizing) the final eschatological salvation in the present time.

written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Their arguments are primarily deduced from the content of the hymns. However, it is surprising that their literary analyses of the "Teacher Hymns" are not in any way detailed and comprehensive. The literary evidence Becker and Kuhn have amassed to argue for the uniformity of the "Teacher Hymns" comprise only twelve pages.⁶⁵ It is quite understandable that they did not provide a detailed treatment of the literary features of the "Teacher Hymns," for it was not the focus of their works. But Jeremias and Schulz, whose primary objective is to explore the life of the Teacher using the data derived from the *Hodayot*, have only allotted eleven pages of their books to the literary studies of the "Teacher Hymns."⁶⁶

Worth noting is the fact that Jeremias and others have attributed a number of hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness without first proving on literary grounds that these hymns are the work of a single author. They have come to the question of authorship by asking which of the *Hodayot* might have been written by the Teacher. Their approach has made them focus solely on those aspects of the text pertinent to their understanding of the life of the Teacher. This significantly affects the criteria they have used to isolate the "Teacher Hymns" from the "Community Hymns." For instance, Kuhn has distinguished "Teacher Hymns" from "Community Hymns" on the basis of the criterion of the *Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers*. In so doing, they have failed to do full justice to each of the hymns. They have also overlooked the interrelationship of the "Teacher Hymns" and their relationship to the "Community Hymns," an area which is worth pursuing for further research.

The issue of authorship is an historical as well as an hermeneutical problem. By attributing a hymn to the Teacher of Righteousness, we can bring in other Qumran documents and explore the religious ideas of the community, whose founder is believed to be none other than the Teacher. This approach affects to a large extent our interpretation of the *Hodayot*. It is quite justifiable, as far as the present writer is concerned, that we draw upon other documents to interpret the *Hodayot*, especially if the text of the hymn itself is not clear. It is, however, another matter of forcing the text to fit into a predetermined schema, for example, the two spirits' doctrine. By so doing, we restrict ourselves from gaining new insights from the hymns. The crux of the problem is not whether we come to the text with any preconceived notions, but whether we would allow the text to challenge all our presuppositions. It is then the

⁶⁵ Becker (1963: 50-55), Kuhn (1966: 21-26).

⁶⁶ Jeremias (1963: 169-73), Schulz (1974: 1-5).

contention of the present writer that our duty is to take the *Hodayot* as it stands. In other words, we must try our best to let the hymns speak for themselves before dealing with the question of authorship.

Furthermore, previous scholarship has usually taken each of the *Hodayot* as a literary unity. Tanzer's suggestion of a group of "hybrid" hymns has broken a new ground in *Hodayot* scholarship. According to Tanzer, some of the "Teacher Hymns" contain language and motifs associated with the "Community Hymns." In her analysis of 1QH 7:26-33, she comments that the introductory formula typical of the "Teacher Hymn," *אֲדַרְכָּה אֲדֹנָי כִּי*, is used in order that the hymn could be put among the group of "Teacher Hymns." She then states that "a later editor has adapted material from the Hymns of the Community into the Hymns of the Teacher. ... One can conclude that while the Hymns of the Teacher may have originated as the response of a righteous leader to persecution, they have since been adapted to the wider context of the Hymns of the Community in which they are found."⁶⁷ Whether the "Community Hymns" were later than the "Teacher Hymns" is a moot point.

Tanzer's observation complicates further the classification of the *Hodayot* just as Schuller aptly discerns in her study of fragment 7 of 4Q428: "They [Kuhn and Becker] solved the problem (of the hymn 4:5-5:4) by considering this section [4:29-5:4] 'sekundärer Zusatz.' However this solution does not work so neatly in our hymn where lines 2-4 cannot so easily be lifted out and declared secondary. This 'hybrid' hymn raises questions about how strictly we can separate the categories identified with Hymns of the Teacher versus Hymns of the Community."⁶⁸ Surprisingly, Tanzer's "hybrid" hymns all fall within columns 2-9 in Sukenik's numbering. A detailed analysis of the redactional shape of the "Teacher Hymns" is then deemed necessary. Unfortunately, scholarship has largely overlooked the importance and richness of this unexplored area.

1.3 *Present Tasks*

1.3.1 Purpose and Significance

The major purpose of this dissertation is to carry out a comprehensive literary analysis of all the presumed Hymns of the Teacher in order to determine whether

⁶⁷ Tanzer (1986: 138). Like the German scholars, Tanzer assumes that the "Teacher Hymns" antedated the "Community Hymns" but has not given any evidence to support this assumption.

⁶⁸ Schuller (1995: 539). See also Chazon (1998: 251-52).

those hymns might have come from one author or several, whether literary sources have been used, and whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that one of the authors was the Teacher of Righteousness. Little has been done on the relationship of the presumed Hymns of the Teacher to one another. It is to be hoped that by examining the literary phenomena of these hymns, this study will contribute towards a better understanding of the redactional shape of the "Teacher Hymns." Even more, Jeremias and others have put forward a number of hymns as the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. Using a different literary approach, this study purports to provide a better means by which we may deal with the question of authorship.

A literary approach to the authorship problem of the *Hodayot* has recently been carried out by Douglas in his dissertation, "Power and Praise in the *Hodayot*: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14."⁶⁹ He refutes the opposing arguments of Holm-Nielsen that the "T" of the *Hodayot* represents the views of any member of the Qumran community. In agreement with Jeremias, Becker, Kuhn, and Schulz, he argues that a subset of the *Hodayot* may be identified as having been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. According to Douglas, the *Hodayot* collection is not only an expression of the author's praise to God but also about power. He vigorously contends that the "Teacher Hymns" make extraordinary claims of authority and are intended to establish the authority of the Teacher of Righteousness. Besides, his dissertation offers a discussion on the redactional history of the *Hodayot*. On orthographical grounds, he puts forward the view that the *Hodayot* collection comprises three sources: 1. cols 1:1-8:42; 2. cols 9:1-20:6; 3. cols 20:7-27:42 (28:42). He takes cols. 9:1-20:6 as the Teacher's book, where cols. 10-17:36 are the "Teacher Hymns" with col. 9 being the introduction, cols. 17:38-18:14 the conclusion, and possibly cols. 18:16-20:6 the appendix.

Douglas addresses the question of authorship by first determining whether the "Teacher Hymns" were in fact by a single author. He classifies the hymns within 1QH 10-17 into three blocks. Block A comprises 10:5-22, 10:23-33, 10:34-11:6, 12:7-31a, 13:7-21, 13:22-14:6b + 15:1-7, 15:8-17. On literary grounds, he demonstrates that these hymns were written by the same author. Block B concerns 11:7-20, 11:21-38, 11:39-12:6, 14:6c-end of column and 16:4-17:36. Among these hymns, 16:4-17:36 has the strongest link to the hymns of block A and is of the greatest possibility of having been by the same author as block A. It is probable that 11:7-20 and 14:6c-end were also written by the author of block A. Block C consists

⁶⁹ Douglas (1998).

of 15:28-35, 15:36-16:3 and 12:31b-13:6, and it is merely possible that these hymns were the work of the author of block A. Douglas then draws a number of close parallels between the claims of authority that may be recovered from block A and those concerning the Teacher in the Pesharim and the CD. Using Victor Turner's model of social conflict, he argues that the historical context of block A is one of social conflict and corresponds to the earliest period in the Teacher's movement as represented in IQS and CD. In conclusion, he states that "the implied author of the 'Teacher Hymns' refers to the authoritative figure who is designated 'the Teacher of Righteousness'."⁷⁰

Independently, Douglas and I discern that the literary studies of Jeremias and other German scholars are not comprehensive and detailed enough. Although Douglas' dissertation and the present one both make use of a detailed literary analysis to tackle the issue of authorship in the "Teacher Hymns," our approaches are quite different. The following are a few significant points of divergence. First, Douglas, standing in the tradition of Jeremias and other German scholars, comes to the text of the *Hodayot* with a focus setting on those aspects pertinent to the claims of authority of the Teacher of Righteousness. This has a significant bearing on the criteria he has used and the lexical items he has drawn from the "Teacher Hymns." He has overlooked some of the expressions that occur frequently in and are distinctive to the "Teacher Hymns." By so doing, he too has failed to do full justice to the text of the *Hodayot*. Second, the purpose of his dissertation is to determine whether the "Teacher Hymns" were the work of a single author while the present one leaves room for more than one author (or redactor). Third, this dissertation also attempts to explore the relationship of the "Teacher Hymns" to the "Community Hymns," a task not taken up in his dissertation. Finally, Douglas presents the redactional history of the *Hodayot* on the basis of his study of the orthography of the entire collection, whereas this dissertation focuses primarily on the redactional shape of the "Teacher Hymns" and bases its results on a purely literary analysis.

1.3.2 Scope and Limitations

Although the list of hymns attributed to the Teacher varies among scholars, all "Teacher Hymns" surprisingly fall within 1QH 10-17:36. This study is then a selective investigation in that it focuses upon the hymns of 1QH 10-17:36. It would be helpful to examine the redactional history of the entire *Hodayot* collection. As

⁷⁰ Douglas (1998: 353).

tempting as it may be, we resist such temptations within the limits of a dissertation.

A few words must be said about the *Hodayot* collection and the arrangement of its columns. 1QH, the *Hodayot* collection from Cave 1, consists of three sheets and a crumpled mass of fragments. In Sukenik's edition, the three sheets, each with four columns, are placed as the first twelve columns of the scroll. Six additional columns, columns 13-18, are pieced together from among the fragments. Altogether there are eighteen columns and sixty-six numbered fragments. There are six other manuscripts of the same collection discovered in Cave 4, 4Q427-432, which help reconstruct part of the text in 1QH.⁷¹ In 1963, Stegemann, in his dissertation "Rekonstruktion der Hodayot. Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran," has reconstructed the original order of the *Hodayot* scroll.⁷² His restoration has been independently confirmed by Emile Puech.⁷³ As a result of the work of these two scholars, recent publications have followed their reconstruction of 1QH.⁷⁴ It is now believed that the original scroll contained seven sheets of four columns each, making up a total of twenty eight columns. The following table summarizes the correspondence between Sukenik's numbering and the numbering system of 1QH, the system used in this dissertation.⁷⁵

<u>1QH</u>	<u>Sukenik's Numbering</u>
Cols. 1 – 2	Missing
Col. 3	frgs. 16, 11
Col. 4	Col. 17 + frg. 14
Col. 5	Col. 13 + frgs. 15i, 17, 20, 31, 33
Col. 6	Col. 14 + frgs. 15ii, 18, 19, 22, 44
Col. 7	Col. 15 + frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42
Col. 8	Col. 16 + frg. 13
Col. 9	Col. 1 + frg. 24
Col. 10	Col. 2
Col. 11	Col. 3 + frg. 25
Col. 12	Col. 4 + frg. 43
Col. 13	Col. 5 + frg. 29
Col. 14	Col. 6 + frg. 26

⁷¹ Cf. Schuller (1994, 1996).

⁷² Stegemann (1963). Stegemann's dissertation is not published but a brief summary of his findings is given in his article (Stegemann 1990: 200, 204). Early attempts have been made by Carmignac (1958, 1958-59).

⁷³ Puech (1988b).

⁷⁴ See García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997), Wise-Abegg-Cook (1996).

⁷⁵ I owe a special note of thanks to Dr. Lim who has provided me with a list of correspondences for the *Hodayot* numbering offered on the Orion discussion group.

Col. 15	Col. 7
Col. 16	Col. 8
Col. 17	Col. 9
Col. 18	Col. 10 + frg. 30
Col. 19	Col. 11
Col. 20	Col. 12 + frgs. 54, 60
Col. 21	Col. 18:16-33 + frg. 3
Col. 22	frgs. 1i, 52, 47, 4
Col. 23	Col. 18:1-15 + frgs. 57i, 1ii, 2i
Col. 24	frgs. 9, 50, 57ii, 45, 2ii, 6
Col. 25	frgs. 5, 46i, 56i, 8, 7i
Col. 26	frgs. 46ii, 55ii, 56ii, 7ii

The text of 1QH is based on my reading of the photographic plates in Sukenik's *editio princeps* as well as the digitalized images of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*.⁷⁶ The purpose of this dissertation, however, is not to produce new editions of 1QH but to provide the raw data and discussions of readings for my detailed literary analyses.

1.3.3 The Methodology

This study begins with an examination of the criteria previous scholarship has used to isolate the "Teacher Hymns" from the "Community Hymns," which provides the basis for a detailed analysis of the literary phenomena of the "Teacher Hymns." Their criteria are summarised and presented in Chapter 2. In the next three chapters, I attempt to demonstrate the literary features of 1QH 10-17:36. First of all, a statistical analysis is undertaken to determine whether the "Teacher Hymns" are distinguishable from the rest of the *Hodayot*. The statistics are derived from the linguistic usage of the hymns presented both in Chapters 3 and 4 and in the appendix.⁷⁷ The findings, which are given at the beginning of Chapter 3, make evident the linguistic peculiarity of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36.

Furthermore, I shall identify repeated words and phrases within 1QH 10-17:36. All repetitions are counted as well as weighed. I compare the linguistic usages of these repetitions with those that may be found in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the Dead Sea Scroll (DSS) corpus. My focus is primarily on those lexical items that are distinctive to 1QH 10-17:36. A repetition is considered as significant if it is shared

⁷⁶ Sukenik (1955), Lim and Alexander (1997). For the text of the Cave 4 *Hodayot* (4Q427-432), I have consulted Wacholder and Abegg (1992), Schuller (1993a, 1994, 1995), García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1998).

⁷⁷ Using a computer system, I have counted the number of occurrence of all lexical items that have been drawn from the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 as well as from those presented in the appendix.

by the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 and does not occur in the rest of the *Hodayot* or anywhere else in the DSS corpus.⁷⁸ The rarer the shared lexical item, the more significant the repetition. I have selected lexical items as highly significant if they occur only in a subset of “Teacher Hymns” and are found rarely in the Bible. It is to be noted that drawing out lexical items from 1QH 10-17:36 is just the starting point of the analysis. I also explore structural patterns, verbal sequences,⁷⁹ and other literary (and rhetorical) devices such as antithesis, chiasm, climax, inclusio, and so on. Other affinities, such as syntactic and thematic parallels, will be taken into consideration.

An attempt will be made to discover how close lexically the hymns in 1QH 10-17:36 are to one another. It is worth examining whether two hymns are closer to each other than either one to the rest of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. The relationship of the “Teacher Hymns” to the “Community Hymns” is also analysed. This would help discern whether a hymn, though classified as a “Teacher Hymn” by previous scholars, shows more lexical features characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” The more the number of lexical and syntactic units any two hymns share, the higher the probability that they belong together and are to be taken as a group. Hymns sharing the same series of words and phrases would suggest that they might have been composed by the same author. As a result of the literary analysis, the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 can be further classified into two groups. Each group has its own set of lexical items and shows quite a different stylistic features. Group I focuses on the author and his relationship with the enemies while Group II shifts the focus to the suffering as well as the victory of the author. Chapters 3 and 4 are dedicated to the discussion of Group I and Group II, respectively. In Chapter 5, I discuss the relationship between Group I and Group II, and attempt to demonstrate the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36. Chapter 6 addresses the issue of authorship. An attempt is made to determine whether either Group I or Group II or both might have been written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Finally, a conclusion summarizes the findings of the dissertation. A complete text and translation of the “Community Hymns,” including 15:29-36 and all the hymns outside 1QH 10-17:36, is given in the Appendix.

⁷⁸ I have consulted the concordances by Kuhn (1960) and Charlesworth (1991).

⁷⁹ A few scholars have made an attempt to study different verbal forms of the *Hodayot*. See deVries (1964-66), Montaner (1992, 1994), Muraoka (1997).

CHAPTER TWO

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE “TEACHER HYMNS”

The relationship of the *Hodayot* to the Teacher of Righteousness has been of considerable interest ever since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Many scholars are inclined to take the *Hodayot* as composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. By so doing, they can make use of the *Hodayot* to confirm the data about the Teacher as gathered from the Pesharim, and particularly from the Habakkuk peshet. The contents of the hymns to some extent will shed new light on the life and experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness, who is believed to have been the founder of the Qumran community. For some scholars, the *Hodayot* could also be used as a source for reconstructing the history of the community. But how can one know with certainty that the *Hodayot* collection, some if not all, stemmed from the Teacher of Righteousness? Our main problem lies in the fact that the writers of the *Hodayot* did not explicitly assert authorship; as a result, the identity of the author has to be deduced from internal and external criteria. What criteria have scholars used to bolster their arguments for the Teacher’s authorship? Are there any distinctive features in the so-called “Teacher Hymns”?

2.1 *The Categories of Morawe and Holm-Nielsen*

Before I discuss the criteria employed by the German scholars, two scholars must be mentioned for their contributions to the division of the *Hodayot* collection. Morawe’s book is the first and the only one discussing in detail the different genres of the *Hodayot*.¹ Using the categories given by Gunkel, Morawe sets out to identify and explicate the *Gattungselemente* in the *Hodayot*. He discovers that the *Hodayot* can be classified into two groups. Two elements, *Notberichte*² and *Rettungsberichte*,³ stand out in a group of hymns, which he designates *individuelle*

¹ Morawe (1961).

² According to Morawe (1961: 38-44), the *Notbericht* is found in the following passages: 2:10b-13a, 2:16ff, 2:32b-34a, 3:6-7a, 3:24bf, 4:8b-9a, 4:33b-35a, 5:16-17, 5:22b-26a, 5:28-36a, 6:22e-25a, 7:1-5, 8:27b-37a, 9:2-7a, 2:25b-28a. Morawe also mentions a list of *eschatologische Notberichte*: 3:7b-12a, 3:26-34a.

³ Morawe (1961: 54-59) gives a list of passages having this element: 2:1-10a, 2:13b-15, 2:34b-

Danklieder. The *individuelle Danklieder* comprise the hymns in 2:3-7:25 and 8:4-9:36. In another group of hymns, which he calls *hymnische Bekenntnislieder*, he discerns the following elements: *hymnische Stücke* and *Reflexion*. The *hymnische Bekenntnislieder* are found in columns 1, 7:26-8:3 and 10-18.⁴ With the exception of 7:26-8:3, Morawe's "individual thanksgiving songs" fall within 2:3-9:36 in Sukenik's numbering.

In an analysis quite different from Morawe's, Holm-Nielsen has taken up the task of examining the use of the Old Testament in the *Hodayot*.⁵ He provides a systematic treatment of the biblical texts which are extensively quoted by, or alluded to, in the hymns. He observes that there is a recognizable difference among the various psalms over how they make use of Scripture. Of great significance is the group of psalms that are quite similar in their use of Scripture. This concerns 2:3-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-3:2, 3:3-18, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-9:36. In these psalms the quotations or allusions are taken predominantly from Isaiah and Psalms.⁶ Surprisingly, this group of psalms, with the exception of 3:37-4:4, is in complete agreement with Morawe's category of "individual thanksgiving songs."

2.2 The Categories of Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn

The task of grappling with the problem of authorship has been carried out by Gert Jeremias.⁷ From the outset Jeremias states that the other 6 manuscripts from Cave 4 and the different order of the psalms make it quite evident that the *Hodayot* could not uniformly come from the same author. The *Hodayot*, according to Jeremias, could be classified into three groups: hymns, didactic psalms, and thanksgiving songs. Except the didactic psalms, the other two groups are similar to the findings provided by Holm-Nielsen and Morawe. His observation is based on the message of these psalms as well as their linguistic peculiarity. In distinguishing the thanksgiving psalms from the Old Testament thanksgiving psalms, he discerns:

Hier spricht eine sehr profilierte Persönlichkeit, die sich von allen anderen Menschen durchaus unterscheidet. Das 'Ich', das in dieser Gruppe von Psalmen redet, ist nicht austauschbar. Hier spricht nicht mehr ein Mann, der aus tödlicher Krankheit genesen ist oder der Unrecht und Leid von bösen Mitmenschen

36, 4:3f, 4:18b-29a, 4:35b-38, 5:9b-16a, 5:18ff, 6:25b-29a, 7:7b-9, 9:7b-13. *Eschatologische Rettungsberichte* is found in the following passages: 3:12-18, 3:34b-36, 5:36b-End, 6:29b-36.

⁴ Morawe (1961: 169). His findings are summed up in a number of tables, see Morawe (1961: 133-35, 159-61).

⁵ Holm-Nielsen (1960a).

⁶ Cf. Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 301-15).

⁷ Jeremias (1963).

erfahren hat und daraus befreit worden ist, sondern in diesen Psalmen redet ein ‚Ich‘, das um seiner Botschaft willen schweren Verfolgungen ausgesetzt ist, unter denen auch seine Anhänger leiden. Diese Botschaft ist eine Offenbarung wunderbarer Geheimnisse.⁸

Here Jeremias propounds that in the *Danklieder* one would find the author speaking of his struggles against his enemies. The author of the *Hodayot* claims that he has received revelation of wonderful mysteries from God himself and is under severe persecution for the sake of his message. More importantly, all these descriptions are not present in the other groups of hymns. With certainty he assigns the following hymns to this “distinctive personality”: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 3:1-18, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:6-25, 8:4-40.

On the one hand, this group of hymns has strong speech-images not found in other hymns. For example, the images of lion and plantation are found in 5:5-19 and 8:4-40, respectively. On the other hand, stereotyped expressions, such as *אל הרחמים*, *אל הדעות*, and *אל עולם*, do not occur in the *Danklieder*. Jeremias’ major argument lies in his discerning the different linguistic usage among these groups of hymns.⁹ He provides a list of concepts which appear exclusively or predominantly in his group of thanksgiving songs but not in the remaining hymns. Likewise, the majority of the concepts encountered in the other two groups are not found in the thanksgiving songs. This distinctive feature has led him to conclude: “Es findet sich unter den Psalmen von Qumran eine Gruppe, die der Sprachgebrauch als zusammengehörig erweist und in denen eine erkennbare Einzelpersönlichkeit spricht.”¹⁰

The question remains is whether this group of hymns was written by the Teacher of Righteousness. Jeremias points out that the distinctly personal tone of these psalms is quite evident and there is an individual “I” speaking to a collective “they” behind these hymns. Even more important is the fact that the “I” of these hymns occupies a peculiar and authoritative position in relation to the community, to which he has brought the salvation. Not only does the author lead and teach the community, but he claims to have founded the community. Besides, the author claims to be the *Heilbringer* for the community, in that God has entrusted to him the divine mysteries and the valid interpretation of the Torah. This unusual claim of authority in the community makes the Teacher the author of this group of hymns a very likely one. In the *Danklieder*, the author mentions about the dispute and strife he has experienced in the community. Even more, the author is said to have been

⁸ Jeremias (1963: 170).

⁹ Jeremias (1963: 172-3).

¹⁰ Jeremias (1963: 173).

persecuted by his enemies and has even been forced into exile. Jeremias argues that for all these descriptions one would find the parallel from the Pesharim (e.g. 1QpHab 7:5, 11:2-8). In conclusion, he identifies this “distinctive personality” with the founder of the community, that is, the Teacher of Righteousness.

Using a similar approach, Becker observes that some hymns, and not all, might have come from the Teacher of Righteousness.¹¹ He uses a number of criteria to determine which hymns might have been written by the Teacher. The most important criterion is the nature of the exceptional “I,” as he avers:

Das Hauptmerkmal ist dabei die Struktur des Ichs der Psalmen. Ein weiteres typisches Zeichen sind Aussagen über Feinde und Nöte, die auf eine einmalige historische Situation schließen lassen und im Zusammenhang mit dem genannten exzeptionellen Ich stehen. Ebenso charakteristisch sind solche Aussagen, bei denen das Ich davon spricht, daß es die Gemeinde gegründet habe und ihr vorstehe.¹²

According to Becker, the hymns written by the Teacher must have the structure of the individual “I.” Another characteristic of the “Teacher Hymns” would be statements about the enemies and the distresses that the psalmist has experienced. Finally, the “Teacher Hymns” would have statements about the psalmist speaking of his relationship to the community, in that he has founded the community, and especially those statements that give a discernible difference between the individual “I” and the community. Using these criteria, Becker comes up with the following list of “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-39, 6:1-36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40.¹³ It should be pointed out that Becker only selects hymns with statements which would point to a unique historical situation. This assumption leads him to reject the following hymns: 1:1-39, 3:19-36, 7:26-33, 7:34-8:3, 9:1-36, 9:37-10:12, 10:14-18. He writes: “Keine Aussage läßt eine historisch-konkrete Anspielung vermuten, vielmehr sind die Aussagen so gehalten, daß sie für den Beter theologisch allgemeingültig formuliert sind und abgesehen von jeder historisch zufälligen Situation Geltung haben sollen.”¹⁴

Becker attributes four more hymns to the Teacher: 2:20-30; 3:1-18; 3:37-44; 7:1-5. His selection is on the basis that their style and content are quite similar to the basic core he has discovered using the aforementioned criteria. His argument is

¹¹ Becker (1963: 50-6).

¹² Becker (1963: 51).

¹³ Becker cites the following to support his arguments: 2:8f; 2:32f; 4:23f; 5:9; 5:23f; 6:19; 7:10; 8:21-26.

¹⁴ Becker (1963: 52).

primarily established through lexical links.¹⁵ For instance, the expression סוד שוא in 2:22 has the parallel שוא עדת (א) in 6:5. The picture of the strong wall in 3:37 is also found in his basic core of “Teacher Hymns,” e.g., 5:37; 7:8. The verb נצל is used in 3:5 as well as in 2:31; 5:13; 7:17. Moreover, בליעל is found exclusively in the “Teacher Hymns” (2:16, 22; 4:10, 13x2; 5:26, 39; 6:21; 7:3). Most significant is the fact that in these hymns the individual “I” stands in a special position in relation to the “they” of the community. Becker comes to the conclusion that all these point to a greater degree of uniformity among these hymns and the individual “I” behind the hymns must have been none other than the Teacher of Righteousness.

While Jeremias has performed a comprehensive study of the hymns attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn has taken on the task of analysing and examining in detail Morawe’s list of *hymnische Bekenntnislieder*, which he calls *Gemeindelieder*, Hymns of the Community.¹⁶ Kuhn’s criteria in isolating “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns” are primarily *individuellen Notbericht* and *das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers*.¹⁷ His selection is quite similar to Morawe’s category of *Not- und Rettungsbericht*.¹⁸ Kuhn considers *das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers* to be an important criterion, by which one would be able to distinguish the individual “I” from the community. This motif can be found in 2:8-10, 13-15; 4:24, 27; 5:9; 5:22-25; 6:19; 7:20f; 8:16, 21-24. On this basis, he selects the following as the “Teacher Hymns”: 2:1-19, 4:5-5:4 (with 4:29-5:4 as a secondary addition), 5:5-19, 5:20-6:36, 7:6-25, 8:4-40. He contends that Jeremias’ criterion of a *Heilbringer* is too general and fails to point to the unique position of the Teacher in the community. His rejection of Becker’s selection of 2:20-30 as a “Teacher Hymn” is likewise on the ground that *das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers* is lacking in the hymn.

Furthermore, Kuhn identifies three specific *Gattungselemente* of the “Community Hymns.” The first *Gattungselement* is the *soteriologische Bekenntnis*, which is always introduced by the formula ואני ידעתי כי “And as for me, I know that” or ואדעה כי “And I know that”, and followed by the confession of God’s act of salvation.¹⁹ The next two are closely related: *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* and

¹⁵ See Becker (1963: 53-54).

¹⁶ Kuhn (1966).

¹⁷ Kuhn (1966: 22-4).

¹⁸ Morawe (1961: 133-35).

¹⁹ Kuhn (1966: 26-27). According to Kuhn, the *Soteriologische Bekenntnis* can be found in 14:12b-13a, 3:20b-23a, 11:7a-14, 11:17b-18, and is less completely preserved in 17:21b-22(?), 13:18b-21(?), 15:12a-26(?), 16:4(?)-5.

Elendsbetrachtung.²⁰ The *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* contrasts the creaturely lowliness of sinful humanity with almighty God and his righteousness while the *Elendsbetrachtung* only contains reflection on the sinfulness, lowliness and misery of mankind. Characteristic of these two *Gattungselemente* are sections beginning with the interrogative pronouns מה “what”, איכה “how”, and מי “who.”

2.3 The Categories of Schulz and Stegemann

Another contribution to the issue of authorship in the *Hodayot* is made by Paul Schulz.²¹ Schulz’s approach is again similar to that of Jeremias but his focus is on a particular aspect of the Teacher of Righteousness, that is, his claim to authority in the Qumran community. He asserts that the *Hodayot* help cast new light on our understanding of the authority of the Teacher. His first task is to distinguish the “Teacher Hymns” from the other *Hodayot*. His arguments are established through form-critical and linguistic analyses, which are based on the works of Morawe, Jeremias, Becker, and Kuhn. Like his predecessors, Schulz has the same impression that “sich in diesen Dankliedern ein ‘individuelles Ich’ stark abhebt von einem ‘kollektiven Ich’ in den übrigen Qumranpsalmen.”²²

The following is the approach Schulz has taken to recover the list of “Teacher Hymns.” First of all, he suggests that there are three different *Gattungen* in the *Hodayot*: *Danklieder*, *hymnische Bekenntnislieder*, and *Lehrpsalmen*. These three forms distinguish from one another in style and content that the homogeneity of the *Hodayot* could not be accepted. Second, the form structure of the thanksgiving psalms are quite different from that of the other hymns. The distress and salvation reports as well as the description of the enemies stand out starkly in the *Danklieder*. Third, the *Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers* is distinctive of the *Danklieder*. Fourth, the *Danklieder* distinguish from the other psalms by their richness of images. Finally, the *Danklieder* contain many concepts not used in the other two groups. By these criteria eight *Danklieder* emerge with a higher degree of uniformity in comparison to the other psalms: 2:1-19; 2:31-39; 3:1-18; 4:5-5:4; 5:5-19; 5:20-7:5; 7:6-25; 8:4-40.

Schulz propounds that the “I” of these eight *Danklieder* be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. This is made evident by the statements found in these

²⁰ The *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* can be found in 13:14b-18b, 1:21b-27b, 7:28-33, 10:2-12, 10:32a-11:2, 12:24b-36 while the *Elendsbetrachtung* occurs in 3:23b-25 and 11:19-22b (Kuhn 1996: 28).

²¹ Schulz (1974).

²² Schulz (1974: 3).

Danklieder: 1) the statements about his experience of a special revelation; 2) the statements about his struggles for the validity of the Torah; 3) the statements about his special relationship to the community. All these statements reveal a claim of authority which could only be spoken by the Teacher of Righteousness, as given by the other Qumran literature, for example, the Habakkuk peshar and the CD. In Schulz's opinion, the Teacher's claim of authority lies in the fact that he was not only from the prophetic tradition but also from the priestly tradition.

One of the leading proponents of Teacher's authorship of the *Hodayot* is Hartmut Stegemann. In addition to his contribution to the reconstruction of the *Hodayot* scroll,²³ Stegemann has written a number of books and articles on the relationship of the Teacher of Righteousness to the Qumran community. His reconstruction of the Teacher's life is grounded on the assumption that the Teacher was the author of most of the *Hodayot*.²⁴

In his examination of the origin of the Qumran community, Stegemann asserts that the hymns of the *Hodayot* have revealed the character of the Teacher, his teaching and his claim of authority.²⁵ While many scholars have studied extensively the statements about the self-understanding of the author himself, Stegemann has focused his attention on the statements about the author's adversaries. He writes: "Nur die Terminologie wirklicher Gegnerraussagen ist jedoch im vorliegenden Zusammenhang von Interesse."²⁶ He believes that there must have been a relationship between the enemies of the author of some of the *Hodayot* and the personal opponents of the Teacher described in other Qumran literature. Of Jeremias' list of "Teacher Hymns," Stegemann rejects 3:1-18; 7:6-25 and 8:4-40. His arguments against the inclusion of these hymns are primarily based on the fact that statements about the author's enemies are lacking or not specific enough as is compatible with those found in the Pesharim and the CD. He takes 2:20-30 and 7:34-8:3 as "Teacher Hymns" on the basis that they contain terms or concepts designating the author's enemies, for example, עֲרִיצִים in 2:21 and סֹד נְעֻלָּמִים in 7:34. Using this criterion, he attributes seven hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness: 2:1-19, 2:20-30, 2:31-39, 4:5-5:4, 5:5-19, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3. Stegemann points out that in these hymns one frequently encounters statements about

²³ Stegemann (1963).

²⁴ Stegemann (1991: 197, 1994: 43).

²⁵ Stegemann (1971: 186).

²⁶ Stegemann (1971: 187).

the false teaching of the enemies, which correspond quite well to the descriptions of the “Man of Lie” in the CD and the Pesharim.

In his article on the Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus, Stegemann draws upon the *Hodayot* to illuminate various aspects of the Teacher. In agreement with Schulz, he contends that the Teacher was a high priest as evident by the hymns he had composed in columns 2-8.²⁷ He cites a few expressions in support of his arguments, just as he claims: “The *Hodayot* give expression to the self-image of their high priestly author, for example, by phrases such as *rz hbth by*, ‘the secret that thou hast concealed within me’ (5.25) or *twrtkh hbth by*, ‘the Torah which thou hast concealed within me’ (5.11), which designate the Teacher as the only and central authority in Israel for the correct interpretation of the Mosaic Law.”²⁸ On this basis, Stegemann derives some of the historical details of the Teacher. In another article, he takes 1QH 5:5-19 as referring to the Teacher’s experiences in 153-152 B.C.E.²⁹

It is often believed that the Teacher of Righteousness was the founder of the Qumran community as described by 4QpPs 3.15-17. This view, according to Stegemann, is in accord with the self-image of the Teacher in the *Hodayot*:

God himself granted the Teacher special authority, making him the founder of this community, and ‘guided him to his truth’ in the sense that all further decisions of that Teacher proved to be right. This account was obviously formulated by members of the Teacher’s community at a later date; but it agrees with the references to those events in *Hodayot* composed by the Teacher himself – including the statements that God had installed him in his office, and that God saved him and guided him through all the difficulties and the rebellions against him or against his special demands.³⁰

The Teacher is also believed to have been a leading authority in the interpretation of the Torah. Stegemann puts forward the view that the exegetical method of the Teacher could be seen in the *Hodayot*: “The Teacher’s understanding was clearly recognized in the hermeneutical approach of his *Hodayot*.”³¹ In point of fact, Holm-Nielsen’s analysis has already pointed to a group of hymns with a similar use of Scripture, most of which happen to be the “Teacher Hymns.” It may be suggested that the use of Scripture in the *Hodayot* is another means by which the “Teacher Hymns” is distinguished from the “Community Hymns” (see Excursus).

²⁷ Stegemann (1991: 199).

²⁸ Stegemann (1991: 201).

²⁹ Stegemann (1992: 152 n. 144).

³⁰ Stegemann (1992: 202-3).

³¹ Stegemann (1992: 203).

It is worth noting that in his early studies Stegemann accepted seven hymns as composed by the Teacher, but in his recent book he includes many more hymns: “The seventeen hymns of the middle part of this manuscript – columns 1-11 in the editors’ numbering – were composed by and large by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. These reflect his personal destiny, his claim to be the only legitimate high priest one day in the future, and they praise God for his goodness and fidelity in all that occurs.”³² It is uncertain as to whether he has changed the criteria for isolating the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns.”

2.4 *The Categories of Tanzer and Douglas*

In her study of the Wisdom influence on the *Hodayot*, Tanzer has identified many more hymns as composed by the Teacher.³³ With the exception of 7:34-8:3, Tanzer’s list of “Teacher Hymns” is exactly the same as Morawe’s category of “individual thanksgiving songs.”³⁴ According to Tanzer, a feature common to these hymns is that they open with the formula אֲדַכָּה אֲדֹנִי כִּי (א) “I give you thanks, Lord, for ...” and express thanksgiving to God for deliverance.³⁵ As she observes:

If one looks at these twelve Hymns of the Teacher as a group, it is striking that all of them are found between cols 2 and 9. Indeed, if one adds to this group of the Hymns of the Teacher, the Hymn of the Community in 7:26-33, which appears to have been redacted in order to fit in with the Hymns of the Teacher, then the Hymns of the Teacher form an uninterrupted block of *Hodayot* extending from 2:3-9:36. They are preceded and followed by the Hymns of the Community.³⁶

Tanzer, through her redactional analysis, introduces a group of “hybrid” hymns in the *Hodayot*. Tanzer’s observation on the use of wisdom elements is worth noting here. There is extensive use of wisdom elements in the Hymns of the Community. Of the twelve “Teacher Hymns,” six show a limited presence of wisdom while the other six do not have any wisdom elements. Interestingly, the six hymns exhibiting a limited presence of wisdom are all “hybrids”: 2:3-19, 3:19-36, 4:5-5:4, 5:20-7:5, 7:34-8:3, 8:4-9:36. In these hymns the wisdom elements are all located in the sections with material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” One may then

³² Stegemann (1998: 107).

³³ Tanzer (1986).

³⁴ Tanzer (1986: 136-41).

³⁵ Tanzer mentions a few lexical and thematic links that these hymns have in common with Jeremias’ list of “Teacher Hymns,” see Tanzer (1986: 61-62, 68-71, 84, 106-107, 126).

³⁶ Tanzer (1986: 138).

conclude that lack of wisdom elements is a distinctive feature of the “Teacher Hymns.”

A significant contribution to the issue of authorship in the *Hodayot* is made in a recent dissertation by Douglas.³⁷ Douglas, though standing in the tradition of Jeremias, Becker, Kuhn, and Schluz, carries out a more comprehensive literary analysis of the *Hodayot* than those performed by his predecessors. The most important criterion he employs to categorize the “Teacher Hymns” is the expression *הגבירכה בי*. He writes: “Through the process of reading and re-reading the text, I became convinced of the political nature of the ‘Teacher Hymns.’ The Teacher’s compositions are about power. This theme is emphasized in one of the most important and frequently repeated phrases in the Teacher’s Book: *הגבירכה בי* (when You [God] exercise Your power through me).”³⁸

Douglas calls *הגבירכה בי* a “signature phrase” and uses it to select his basic core, that is, a list of hymns with the greatest possibility of having been by the same author, just as he avers:

The “signature phrase” provides an Archimedian point of entry for doing a literary criticism of the *Hodayot*. The linguistic character, style and content of the four compositions containing this phrase form a central block of material with multiple interconnecting lines of affinity. This block [C15 (10:23-33), C20^a (12:7-31a), C21 (13:7-21), C22^a (13:22-14:6 + 15:3-7)] forms a homogeneous core in cols 10-17, which I call Block A. Other compositions that do not contain the signature phrase nevertheless have multiple strong linguistic affinities with this core. These compositions can be added to this core according to the associative principle.³⁹

He expands his basic core through lexical links and includes the following: 10:5-22, 10:34-11:6, 15:8-27. For instance, the faithless exchange motif, that is, the use of *המיר*, is found in 10:21 and 10:39 as well as in the basic core. In his literary analysis, he identifies two other blocks of hymns within 10-17:36. Block B comprises 11:7-20, 11:21-38, 11:39-12:6, 14:6c-end of column and 16:4-17:36 while block C consists of 15:28-35, 15:36-16:3 and 12:31b-13:6. According to Douglas, 16:4-17:36 has a significant number of lexical links to block A and it is thus highly probable that this hymn might have come from the same author as block A.

Moreover, Douglas demonstrates that there is a close correspondence between the statements about the Teacher in the Pesharim and the CD, and those mentioned in block A. Of special significance are the statements about the author’s claims of

³⁷ Douglas (1998).

³⁸ Douglas (1998: 10-11).

³⁹ Douglas (1998: 91).

authority, status and significance.⁴⁰ He utilizes a model of social conflict to argue that the social context of block A fits the social context of the earliest days of the Teacher's movement.⁴¹ He then reaches the following conclusion:

The logical conclusion that derives from these propositions is that the "I" in the "Teacher Hymns" (Block A + authentic Block B) refers to the representative leader of the movement whom the Pesharim and CD designate as the Teacher of Righteousness. The purpose of the Teacher's Book was not so much to narrate the details of his story, but to confirm the foundational status and continuing significance of the Teacher for the movement that he engendered.⁴²

2.5 *Excursus: The Use of Scripture in the Hodayot*

Almost all the scholars who have occupied themselves with the *Hodayot* collection have recognized its extensive use of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁴³ This feature is clearly expressed by Dupont-Sommer: "[T]he psalmist's spirit has been nourished and saturated with reading the sacred books, and the quotations shine out at every moment like so many precious stones drawn lavishly from the treasure of inspired Scriptures."⁴⁴ A few scholars go as far as to characterize some of the hymns as "a mosaic of biblical phrases and quotations."⁴⁵ In his detailed analysis of late Jewish psalmody, Holm-Nielsen writes: "No exhaustive study of Late Jewish, non-canonical literature is needed to establish to what extent it is dependent on the Old Testaments books, and indeed this fact is generally recognized as a downright criterion of the late books."⁴⁶

In the *Hodayot* direct quotation of a biblical verse is extremely rare. More often than not, an echo of biblical words and motifs could be found. There are many instances where it would appear that the author(s), governed by certain theological presuppositions, have the tendency to use the biblical text in a new context. It is

⁴⁰ See Douglas (1998: 256-280, 399-403).

⁴¹ Douglas (1998: 334-46) employs Victor Turner's model of social conflict, which consists of the following four stages: 1. breach; 2. escalation of crisis; 3. redressive action; 4. reintegration or irreparable schism.

⁴² Douglas (1998: 347). His use of the term 'authentic' is to distinguish the pseudo-Teacher Hymns from the hymns that were actually written by the Teacher of Righteousness.

⁴³ Burrows (1956: 27), Chamberlain (1955a: 39-41), Glanzman (1952: 488), Hyatt (1955-56: 284), Merrill (1975: 11), Thiering (1972-75: 393), Waard (1965: 62), Wallenstein (1950: 6). See also Hoenig (1966-68: 316), del Medico (1958: 305).

⁴⁴ Dupont-Sommer (1952: 69).

⁴⁵ Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 115), Gaster (1957: 119), Mansoor (1961: 28), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 301), see also Brownlee (1951: 60), Roberts (1968: 205).

⁴⁶ Holm-Nielsen (1960b: 14).

uncertain whether there is a deliberate use of Scripture in the *Hodayot*, just as Holm-Nielsen says: “It is often difficult to decide to how great an extent it is a question of the individual author himself extracting texts from the Old Testament in his composition, and to how great an extent he is just employing a terminology, current in the community, which was originally drawn from the Old Testament.”⁴⁷ Fishbane’s observation may be helpful at this point: “[T]here is a strong presumptive likelihood that what appear to be biblical allusions or phrases in the *Hodayot*-Psalms, for example, are in fact anthologized reuses of the vast biblical thesaurus, and not just terms picked from the spoken environment.”⁴⁸

A comment made by Andrew Chester seems to have implied that the *Hodayot*’s use of Scripture is more than simply employing stereotyped expressions or customary terminology. As he observes:

The ‘anthological’ style is above all characteristic of 1QH, which draws on Scripture even more extensively than any other of the Qumran texts considered here [CD, 1QS, 1QM, 11Q Temple], but also does so even more allusively. . . . while it is often difficult to be sure whether there is a deliberate scriptural citation or whether the hymn merely reflects more general biblical usage. . . . At the same time, it is frequently apparent that allusion to a scriptural verse is *conscious and intentional*. [italics mine]⁴⁹

Furthermore, it is generally assumed that the *Hodayot* draw on Scripture without regard to the historical context of the biblical texts. In his recent monograph, Swanson compares the Temple Scroll with the *Hodayot* and simply states: “[T]he *Temple Scroll* allusions are different in kind. The *Hodayot* do breathe the atmosphere of the biblical psalms, but there is no sense of an attempt to allude to specific psalms in the use of biblical language. The allusions of the Scroll, when traced, do provide information which assists in understanding the Scroll, and which makes contextual sense.”⁵⁰ However, Kittel’s observation is worth mentioning here:

The author of the *Hodayot* composed his work almost entirely with biblical vocabulary. . . . While the poet obviously knew the OT well enough to use its most unusual words and idioms, these are usually employed in contexts or with meanings slightly different from the OT. This indicates some facility to compose poetry in Hebrew, rather than mere awkward combination of biblical expressions. This conclusion is further reinforced by the intricate structures of the poems, which are not copied directly from the OT.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 303).

⁴⁸ Fishbane (1988a: 9).

⁴⁹ Chester (1988: 146-7).

⁵⁰ Swanson (1995: 15).

⁵¹ Kittel (1981: 52).

A significant contribution to this area of study has been made by Daniel Patte.⁵² He discovers that the use of Scripture designated as anthological is largely characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” He also asserts that a special group of hymns (1QH 3:3-18; 5:5-19; 5:20-7:5; 8:4-9:36) presents a structural use of Scripture, employing “typology” and an exegetical method akin to that of midrash.⁵³ His analysis confirms his own assumption that there is a conscious use of Scripture in these hymns. It is to be noted that these hymns have been attributed to the Teacher.

Brooke’s essay offers another insight into how one of the *Hodayot* has made use of the Hebrew Scriptures. At the outset he posits that “implicit biblical interpretation is particularly a feature of poetic and liturgical texts.”⁵⁴ He then shows how Isaiah 53 is deliberately used in the hymn in 1QH 4, which happens to be one of the hymns attributed to the Teacher. According to Brooke, the author of the hymn identified himself with the suffering servant of Isaiah in his personal struggles. In short, the hymn is modelled on the Isaiah passage and does not attest to the use of biblical language out of context.

In summary, recent scholars have reached the conclusion that there is a deliberate use of Scripture in some of the *Hodayot*. If Patte’s and Brooke’s analyses are correct, there are significant differences in the use of Scripture between the “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns.” Attention must then be given to the use of Scripture in the hymns of 1QH 10-17:36.

2.6 Conclusion

The *Hodayot* collection is not as uniform as it might at first appear to be. It is now widely accepted that the *Hodayot* can be classified into two categories: “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns.” The list of hymns attributed to the Teacher varies among scholars. Individual scholars themselves might have changed their own list of “Teacher Hymns” for one reason or other. For example, Stegemann started with seven “Teacher Hymns” in his dissertation and now goes as far as to accept seventeen hymns from columns 1 to 11 in his recent book. The following is a summary of the hymns attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness. The highlighted hymns are the ones accepted by all the aforementioned scholars as “Teacher Hymns.” The hymn that has been unanimously accepted by the scholars as a

⁵² Patte (1975: 247-67).

⁵³ Patte (1975: 263-7).

⁵⁴ Brooke (1990a: 168).

“Community Hymn” is 15:29-36.

Text ⁵⁵	Jeremias	Becker	Kuhn	Stegemann	Schulz	Tanzer	Douglas
10:1-21	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10:22-32		✓		✓		✓	✓
10:33-41	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
11:1-19	✓	✓			✓	✓	
11:20-37						✓	
11:38-12:5		✓				✓	
12:6-13:6 ⁵⁶	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
13:7-21	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
13:22-15:8	✓	✓	✓ 13:22- 14:39	✓	✓	✓	✓ 13:22-14:6b 15:4-8
15:9-28	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
15:29-36							
15:37-16:4				✓		✓	
16:5-17:36	✓ 16:5-41	✓ 16:5-41	✓ 16:5-41		✓ 16:5-41	✓	✓

Arguments for the Teacher’s authorship of these hymns are deduced from internal and external criteria. The internal criteria many scholars have used are primarily form-critical and linguistic analyses, assuming that writings by the same author would tend to bear distinctive traits of content, vocabulary, and style. As for external criteria, the majority of scholars assert that the author’s account of his distress and sufferings correspond quite well to the information mentioned in the other Qumran literature, and particularly in the Pesharim and the CD. They have thus concluded that since the Teacher of Righteousness is described as suffering from persecution, and the author of these hymns also speaks of his own suffering, the two must be the same.

The following is a summary of the features characteristic of the “Teacher Hymns” as proposed by the aforementioned scholars. A few comments are appropriate here. Although Morawe, Holm-Nielsen, Tanzer have analysed and examined the *Hodayot* not for the problem of authorship, their findings have brought out some salient features of the “Teacher Hymns.” Their approaches to the study of the *Hodayot* may

⁵⁵ The numberings used by the scholars have been converted to agree with the numbering used in this dissertation.

⁵⁶ Becker (1963:55), Kuhn (1966: 23) and Stegemann (1971: 189-90) take 12:30b-13:6 as a secondary expansion of the “Teacher Hymn” 12:6-30a.

offer further criteria for distinguishing “Teacher Hymns” from “Community Hymns.”

<u>Distinctive Features of the “Teacher Hymns”</u>	<u>Proposed by Scholars</u>
1. Similar Form and Structure	Morawe Becker Schulz
2. Extensive/Similar Use of Biblical Language	Holm-Nielsen Stegemann
3. Individual ‘I’ vs Collective ‘they’	Jeremias Becker Schulz
4. Linguistic Peculiarity	Jeremias Becker Schulz Douglas
5. Motif of “Salvation Bringer”	Jeremias
6. Abundance of Strong Images	Jeremias Schulz
7. Distress Reports	Jeremias Becker Kuhn Schulz
8. Motif of “Mediator of Revelation” - experience of special revelation	Kuhn Schulz
9. Unusual Claims of Authority, Status and Significance - Interpreter of the Torah - Founder of the community	Jeremias Schulz Stegemann Douglas
10. Commonly Used Designations for the Enemies	Schulz Stegemann
11. Lack of Wisdom Elements	Tanzer
12. Signature Phrase הגבירכה בי	Douglas

Many scholars have employed linguistic usage as a means of showing the uniformity of the “Teacher Hymns.” Jeremias is a major proponent of this approach. He argues that a list of words or concepts appear almost exclusively in his

“thanksgiving psalms.” The list gives further evidence to his hypothesis that these hymns should belong together and comprise the “Teacher Hymns.” However, his tables are in some ways misleading. As one looks meticulously at his list of concepts and the hymns in which those concepts are found, one would be surprised to discover that those concepts are not uniformly distributed among his list of “Teacher Hymns,” as outlined in the following table:

Word	10:1-21	10:33-41	11:1-19	12:6-13:6	13:7-21	13:22-15:8	15:9-28	16:5-41
חפץ	1		2			2		2
היה	5		1			7		8
דרש	1	2		5	1			
משבר			6			1		1
חמה	2		2			5		
למור		1					2	1
שים	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
תעות	1			3				
פרח						2		5
כל						4	1	2
שבר						4		1
שער			1			2		
עזר		1			1		1	
בריה			1			2		
דלת			1			2		
אנוש						1		2
בער						2		1
נאץ				2			1	
זקים						1		2
תורה				1	1	1		
מצולה			2					1
עם	1			5	2	3		
מטע								4
מטעת						1		3
רגש	2		2					
סגר			1		2			
ציר			2			1		
רוש		1			1	1		
שחק			1			1		1
שטף						1		2
שקר						1	1	1
מוט						2	1	
שורש				1		1		3
מלחמה						5	2	
מליץ	2	1		2		2		
עץ								6
מרור					1	2		2
פרי						1		3
עבר				1		2		1
Total	18	7	23	21	10	61	11	53

For example, עץ is cited as occurring six times in the “Teacher Hymns” while it appears only twice in the remaining hymns. But all the occurrences of עץ are found only in one “Teacher Hymn,” that is, 16:5-41. The only word that appears in all the “Teacher Hymns” is the verb שים, which is commonly used in the rest of the *Hodayot* as well as in the Hebrew Scriptures. More importantly, the lexical items Jeremias has listed are only counted but not weighed. In other words, Jeremias’ tables only give ‘quantity’ and not ‘quality.’

Furthermore, the interrelationship of the “Teacher Hymns” proposed by Jeremias is not so uniform either, as shown below.

10:1-21							
3	10:33-41						
5	1	11:1-19					
5	3	1	12:6-13:6				
3	4	2	4	13:7-21			
6	3	9	6	5	13:22-15:8		
1	2	1	2	2	5	15:9-28	
3	2	6	3	2	17	4	16:5-41

Using Jeremias’ list of words, the above table shows the number of lexical affinities among the “Teacher Hymns.” For instance, 10:1-21 shows 3 cases of lexical similarity with 10:33-41, 5 with 11:1-19, 5 with 12:6-13:6, 3 with 13:7-21, 6 with 13:22-15:8, 1 with 15:9-28, 3 with 16:5-41. 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-41, two of the longest hymns in the *Hodayot*, have 17 cases of linguistic correspondence and are the only two hymns that show a higher degree of lexical affinity whereas 11:1-19 has only 1 word (i.e. the verb שים) in common with 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6 and 15:9-28. In short, Jeremias’ criterion of the linguistic peculiarity of the “Teacher Hymns,” as just briefly shown, does not stand on as firm ground as it appears to do.

It must be said that there is no internal evidence which can establish beyond question the authorship of the hymns. In stark contrast to the Pesharim and the War Scroll, there are no contemporary historical references in these hymns. Drawing out historical details from these hymns we must then be very cautious. This much may be said, that the author might have been a person of influence within the Qumran community, a man on whom the eyes of both friends and enemies were focused. He also claimed to be the mediator of revelation, the one to whom God has revealed his mysteries. The miseries and troubles described in the hymns fit well with the persecutions described in the Habakkuk peshier. This points to authorship by a prominent leader of the Qumran community. All these make the Teacher a likely candidate. However, an answer can only be given on the basis of a much detailed analysis of the hymns of 1QH 10-17:36.

CHAPTER THREE

THE “T” OF 1QH 10-17:36 AND THE ENEMIES

Having examined the criteria for distinguishing the “Teacher Hymns” from the “Community Hymns,” attention must now turn to the interrelationship of the hymns within columns 10-17:36 of 1QH. An extensive lexical analysis of the *Hodayot* must be carried out in order to determine whether all the presumed Hymns of the Teacher, that is, hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, are indeed so different from the “Community Hymns.” The statistics are summarised in the following table.

“Teacher Hymns”	Total Lexical Items	Lexical Items unique to the hymn	Use of Lexical Items only in 1QH 10-17:36	Use of Lexical Items outside of 1QH 10-17:36	Common Stock of Lexical Items
10:1-21	139	13%	15%	4%	68% (27, 32, 9)
10:22-32	107	8%	23%	3%	66% (38, 20, 8)
10:33-41	64	3%	23%	2%	72% (39, 30, 3)
11:1-19	146	14%	31%	3%	52% (27, 22, 3)
11:20-37	221	8%	19%	6%	67% (29, 32, 6)
11:38-12:5	24	0%	24%	0%	76% (38, 29, 9)
12:6-13:6	411	10%	10%	7%	73% (23, 47, 3)
13:7-21	159	16%	21%	2%	61% (32, 23, 6)
13:22-15:8	567	14%	18%	5%	63% (22, 34, 7)
15:9-28	164	6%	18%	2%	74% (26, 38, 10)
15:29-36	63	3%	2%	5%	90% (24, 62, 4)
15:37-16:4	24	0%	13%	0%	87% (39, 48, 0)
16:5-17:36	594	15%	15%	6%	64% (22, 38, 4)

A few comments are in line here. All reconstructed texts are excluded from the above calculation. There are three more percentages in the last column, showing whether the common stock of lexical items used in the hymn occurs more often within or outside of 1QH 10-17:36. For instance, 10:22-32 consists of 107 lexical items and 71 of them (66%) occur in other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 as well as in the hymns outside of it. Out of these 71 lexical items, 41 (38%) occur more often in other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 than those hymns outside of it¹ while 21 (20%) occur more often in the hymns outside of 1QH 10-17:36 than in other hymns within

¹ E.g., נָפֶשׁ occurs 6 times in 10:22-32, 26 times in other hymns within 10-17:36 and only 9 times outside of it.

it,² and 9 lexical items (8%) have the same number of occurrences in the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 and outside of it. These statistics would suggest that 10:22-32 is closer to other hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 than to the hymns outside of it.

With the exception of 15:29-36, each “Teacher Hymn” seems to be employing more lexical items with other “Teacher Hymns” than with the “Community Hymns.” Not only does 15:29-36 show fewer lexical items common to the “Teacher Hymns” (only 2%), but also uses items occurring more often in the “Community Hymns” than in other “Teacher Hymns” (62% vs 24%), suggesting that 15:29-36 is more of a “Community Hymn.” This confirms the impression expressed by many scholars.

As indicated in the fourth column of the table, the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 indeed appear to share a common set of lexical items. As will be shown in this Chapter and the next one, two groups of hymns can be identified in 1QH 10-17:36. Group I consists of 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6, 13:7-21 while Group II comprises 11:1-19, 11:20-37, 11:38-12:5, 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, 15:37-16:4, 16:5-17:36. The first set of hymns all falls within columns 10 and 13, except that the hymns in column 11 belong to the second group. The hymns of Group I share a number of lexical and syntactic features, and bear distinctive traits of vocabulary, content, and style. The focus of the hymns is on the author and his relationships to his enemies.

A few words must be said about the division of the hymns. Two structural markers can be discerned in the *Hodayot*: independent pronouns and *vacats*. Carmignac places strong emphasis on these devices in his study of the poetic conventions of the *Hodayot*.³ Kittel however argues,

Unfortunately, the use of spaces by the copyists is not as clear as Carmignac would have readers believe. Marginal fitting was practiced by Qumran scribes, and has been observed in this scroll. However, it is not automatically possible to ascribe a space left in the scroll either to marginal fitting or else to strophic arrangement, as Carmignac suggests. His comments on the strategic use of independent pronouns are greatly to the point, and indeed these are one of the most valuable indicators of division between strophes or stanzas.⁴

Kittel’s comment has its merit but the use of *vacats* in some cases does indicate a division. Therefore, it seems unwise to ignore this device completely. In the determination of the stanza units, Kittel places much more weight on the structure than on the content, just as she says, “Certainly, theme development is tied to

² E.g., *חסד* occurs twice in 10:22-32, 17 times in the hymns outside of 10-17:36 and only 8 times within it.

³ Carmignac (1959-60b: 515-32).

⁴ Kittel (1981: 17; see also Martin 1958: 110-11).

structure, but unfortunately, themes themselves provide little help in elucidating structure. ... Instead, it is usually a solid understanding of the poem's structure which elucidates the poem's theme and solves problems."⁵ But how can one understand the structure of the text without also taking into consideration its contents and themes? It must be emphasized that structure and content are inseparable. What the text says (i.e. its content) and how it says (i.e. its structure) are interwoven so as to give meaning. The structure and content of the hymn should then be borne in mind while attempting to divide it into sections.

3.1 *IQH 10:1-21*

3.1.1 Hebrew Text and Translation⁶

Sukenik Col. 2:1-19 (plate 36); SHR 190413

IQH 10:5-9 = 4Q432 frg. 3:1-5

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 160-2

	[1
	[2
[דו ]	] 3
[עזי עב ]	] 4
[ישרתה בלבבין כול מעשי ענול	] 5
[ות[שם] אמת נגר עיני ומוכי[חי צדק ⁷ בכל חן	] 6
[מחץ מנחמי כו]ומשמיעי שמחה לאבל יג[נני]	] 7
[מבשר ש]לום לכול הוות ⁸ שמוע] חזקים למוס לבבי ומאמצי [כוח	] 8
9 לפני [ננ]ע ותתן מענה לשון לע[רול] שפתי ותסמוך נפשי בחזק מותנים	
10 ואמוץ כוח ותעמד פעמי בגבול רשעה ואהיה פח לפושעים ומרפא לכול	
11 שבי פשע ערמה לפתיים ויצר סמוך לכול נמחרי לב ותשימני חרפה	
12 וקלס לבוגדים סוד אמת ובינה לישרי דרך ואהיה על עון רשעים	
13 דבה בשפת עריצים לצים יחרוקן שנים ואני הייתי נגינה לפושעים	

⁵ Kittel (1981: 28).

⁶ The lacunae are shown schematically by lines enclosed with square brackets and any letters that have been erased are enclosed by curly brackets.

⁷ *צדק* is an interlinear insertion above the word *אמת* which is singled out for deletion by means of dots above and below it. This is confirmed by 4Q432 frg. 3:2.

⁸ Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 122) have taken *הוות* as having the meaning "threat": "*hawwāh* as usually translated by 'destruction, evil desire.' W. F. Albright points out that in Ugaritic the root *hwt* means 'deed' or word' like Hebrew *dābār*. This meaning would greatly improve the sense of a number of biblical passages in which *הוה* is used with verbs of speech (cf. Ps 38 13, 52 4). In *IQH 36.36 [= 10:38]* we find *מפחד הוות רשעים*, which suggests the meaning 'threats'" (see also Glanzman 1952: 510), the translation taken up here. Sukenik transcribed *שמוע* but the present writer fails to see these letters on the photographic plate.

- 14 ועלי קהלת רשעים תתרגש ויהמו כנחשולי⁹ ימים בהרגש גליהם רפש
 15 וטיט יגרישו ותשימני נס לבחירי צדק ומליץ דעת ברזי פלא לבחון
 16 [אמת ולנסות אוהבי מוסר ואהיה איש ריב למליצי תעות []
 17 [ום לכול חוזי נכוחות ואהיה לרוח קנאה לנגד כל דורשי חל[קות]¹⁰
 18 [אנ]שי רמיה עלי יהמו כקול המון מים רבים ומזמות בליעל []
 19 [מחש]בותם ויהפוכו לשוחה חיי גבר אשר הכינותה בפיי¹¹ ותלמד[נ] ובינה
 20 שמתה בלבבי¹² לפתוח מקור דעת לכול מבינים וימירום בערול שפה
 21 ולשון אחרת לעם לא בינות להלבט במשגתם

1. []
2. []
3. [] dw [
4. [] 'zy 'b[
5. [You have made straight in my heart] all the deeds of injus[tice
6. [and You] placed [truth before my eyes and the repro]vers of righteousness in all h[
7. [] crushed by b[low]s of the comforters of ...]
 and proclaimers of joy for the mourning of [my so]rrow,
8. [proclaiming pe]ace to all threat[s ...] the strong, to dissolve my heart,
9. and those who make firm [strength] (9) before [afflic]tion.
 And you have given a reply of the tongue to my uncir[cumcised] lips,
10. and you have supported my soul by strengthening (my) loins (10) and making firm (my) strength,
 and you have made my footsteps stand firm in the border of wickedness.
- I have become a snare for the transgressors,
11. but a healing for all (11) those who turn from transgression,
 prudence for the simple, and a steadfast purpose for all the anxious at heart.
12. And you have made me a reproach (12) and a derision for traitors,

⁹ נחשולי is not found in the Hebrew Bible but used in the Rabbinic literature, see Jastrow (1926: 897).

¹⁰ Most scholars restore חל[קות] (Carmignac 1961: 186; Delcor 1962: 98; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 32; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 162; Habermann 1960: 116; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 31; Licht 1957: 68; Lohse 1971: 116; Williams 1991: 116).

¹¹ Various readings on this line have been suggested. Bardtke (1956b: 590), Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 124), García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997: 162), Licht (1957: 68), Lohse (1971: 116) and Maier (1960: 75) supply a ך and read בפיי, and understand it as having a third person singular suffix rather than a first person suffix. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 32) also reads בפיי but takes the ך from ותלמדנו. He further takes the second ך to go with the following word and proposes to read: בפיי תלמד ובינה. He appears to have understood תלמד to be an equivalent to תלמוד. Carmignac (1961: 187), Jeremias (1963: 194) and Tanzer (1986: 108) have the same reading. Two reasons speak against this reading. First, the use of כון in Hiphil with the complement introduced by ב is not attested in the Bible. Second, תלמוד, the defective writing of the noun תלמוד, is not found elsewhere in the *Hodayot* nor in the Bible.

The above readings are engendered by the assumption that גבר, the man just mentioned, is the author himself and a third person singular suffix is required to agree with its antecedent. This is not necessary if one takes גבר as referring not to the author but to the one whom God has instructed by the author. Therefore, I retain the original reading בפיי. So is Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 32) who renders: "and they cast into the pit the life of the man, whom Thou hast established through my mouth" (see also Delcor 1962: 98; Williams 1991: 117; Wise-Abegg-Cook 1996: 92; Douglas 1998: 113).

¹² Sukenik transcribed בלבכו but the final letter could be a י (see Delcor 1962: 98; Tanzer 1986: 108; Douglas 1998: 113).

- (but) a counsel of truth and understanding for the upright of way.
And on account of the iniquity of the wicked,
13. I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men,
scorners gnash (their) teeth.
And I have become a taunt-song for the transgressors,
 14. and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the seas
when their waves rush forth,
 15. mire (15) and mud they cast up.
- And you have made me a banner to the chosen of righteousness,
and an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries,
16. to test (16) [] truth and to try those who love discipline.
And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error, [
 17. [] *wm* to all those who see right things.
And I have become a zealous spirit against all those who seek *sm*[ooth things]
 18. [m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters,
 19. and the plots of Belial¹³ [] (19) their th[oughts].
And they have cast to the pit the life of the man
whom you have established through my mouth, and taught.
20. And you have placed understanding in my heart
to open a fountain of knowledge to all those who understand;
 21. but they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip (21) and foreign tongue of a people
without understanding, ruined in their mistake. *vacat*

3.1.2 Structure and Content

This hymn undoubtedly ends at line 21 as the line is completed some distance before the left-hand margin and the introductory formula of the following hymn, **אורכה אדוני**, appears at line 22, but the top of column 10 is so mutilated that one cannot say with certainty where the hymn begins. The hymn shows a difference of style and content from the one in the previous column and is thus unlikely to be the continuation of the previous hymn.¹⁴ More likely, the hymn has its beginning in one of the first few lines of this column.¹⁵

The recurring verbal form of **דיה** (10, 12, 13, 16, 17) and **שים** (11, 15, 20) stands out and the following structure emerges:

A. 1(?)–10a : Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.

¹³ The expression **מזמות בליעל** can also be translated as “worthless plots.” The word **בליעל** may refer to the proper name “Belial” or the noun “worthlessness.” The author may have been intended to use the word with a double meaning, suggesting that Belial stands behind all worthless plots and deeds.

¹⁴ Cf. Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 31), Schulz (1974: 5).

¹⁵ See DeVries (1964–66: 380), Douglas (1998: 112), Dupont-Sommer (1957: 30), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 31), Jeremias (1963: 192), Wise-Abegg-Cook (1996: 92). Tanzer (1986: 108) follows Stegemann’s reconstruction and places the introductory formula **כיא אדוני אורכה** before **ישרתה** in line 5. Gaster (1957: 135) supplies the formula in line 4.

- B. 10b-19d: Main section in which the author describes his relationship to both the wicked and the righteous using the following structural patterns:
 ואדיה (10)
 ואני הייתי, ואדיה (12), ותשימני (11)
 ואדיה (16), ואדיה (17), ותשימני (15)
- C. 19e-21: The conclusion opens with שמתה and describes the unfaithfulness of the wicked and their subsequent downfall.

The hymn opens with a lengthy description of the author's relationship with God and speaks about how the author has been strengthened by God even in face of affliction. The gracious dealing of God towards the author is mentioned in order to give grounds for thanksgiving in this opening section of the hymn.

From line 8 onwards, the focus falls upon the author himself. This section is clearly structured around a comparison between the role which the author is to play for the righteous and that which he is for the wicked. The first paragraph, 10b-11c, places the emphasis on the author's positive relationship with the righteous while the next two, 11d-15a and 15b-19d, stress his negative relationship with the wicked. Noteworthy is the use of numerous names in designating the wicked: פושעים "transgressors" (10c, 13d), בוגדים "traitors" (12a), עריצים "ruthless men" (13a), לצים "scorners" (13a), קהלת רשעים "assembly of the wicked" (14a), מליצי "those who seek sm[ooth things]" (16d), דורשי חל[קות] "those who seek sm[ooth things]" (17d), [אנ]שי רמיה "[m]en of deceit" (18a). In stark contrast to the description of the wicked, the righteous are described as: שבי פשע "those who turn from transgression" (11a), פתיים "the simple" (11b), נמהרי לב "the anxious at heart" (11c), ישרי דרך "the upright of way" (12b), בחרירי צדק "the chosen of righteousness" (15b), אוהבי מוסר "those who love discipline" (16b), חוזי נבוחות "those who see right things" (17b). Furthermore, the use of שים with first person singular suffix underscores the fact that it is God who has made the author a reproach and a banner at the same time. Paragraphs 11d-15a and 15b-19d both end with a detailed portrayal of the attack of the wicked and are closely tied together by repeating the following similar structure:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 10:14 | ועלי קהלת רשעים תתרגש ויחמו כנחשולי ימים
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the seas |
| 10:18 | [אנ]שי רמיה עלי יחמו כקול המון מים רבים
[m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters |

The final section begins with another שים, emphasizing again that the author is the instrument of God for opening the fountain of knowledge to the people. Echoing the

terms ‘lips’ and ‘tongue’, the last line of the section makes an inclusio with the introduction:

- 10:9 ותתן מענה לשון לענרולן שפתי
and you have given a reply of the tongue to my uncir[cumcised] lips
- 10:20-21 וימירום בערול שפה ולשון אחרת
but they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip and foreign tongue

The use of Scripture in this hymn is evident. The phrase בחזוק מותנים ואמץ כוח “strengthening (my) loins and making firm (my) strength” at 10:9d-10a draws on the language of Nah 2:2, where the same is found, חזק מתנים אמץ כח מאד. Even more, the attack of the wicked described in 10:14-15 is an allusion to Isa 57:20:

- 10:14-15 ועלי קהלת רשעים תתרגש ויהמו כנחשולי ימים
בהרגש גליהם רפש וטיט יגרישו
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the sea
when their waves rush forth, mire and mud they cast up.
- Isa 57:20 והרשעים כים נגרש כי השקט לא יוכל
ויגרשו מימיו רפש וטיט
But the wicked are like the tossing sea, for it cannot rest,
and its waters cast up mire and mud.

Remarkable is the use of Isa 28:11 and Hos 4:14 in portraying the unfaithfulness of the wicked, as depicted below:

- 10:20-21 וימירום בערול שפה ולשון אחרת לעם לא בינות להלבט במשגתם
But they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip
and foreign tongue of a people without understanding,
ruined in their mistake
- Isa 28:11 כי בלעגי שפה ובלשון אחרת ידבר אל־העם הזה
for, with stammering lip and with foreign tongue he will speak to this
people.
- Hos 4:14c ועם לא־יבין ילבט
and a people without understanding comes to ruin.

It is almost certain that the motif of foreign tongue is an allusion to Isa 28:11 and the motif of stumbling without understanding is taken from Hos 4:14.

3.1.3 Literary Affinity

Among the hymns that show lexical similarities with this hymn, 10:1-21 has a much closer affinity with 12:6-13:6. מליץ, the hiphil participle of ליץ, occurs nine times in the *Hodayot*. The word occurs four times in the Bible. It is usually translated ‘interpreter’ in Gen 42:23, where the passage describes how Joseph fools his brothers and communicates with them by means of an interpreter (מליץ). The plural form of מליץ in Isa 43:27 seems to be referring to the authoritative figures of

Israel. They might have been God's priests and prophets, those speaking to the people on God's behalf. The mediatorial role of מליץ can be discerned in Job 33:23, where Elihu speaks of an angel or a messenger מלאך, and at the same time a מליץ, who shows man what is right and speaks to God on man's behalf. The last occurrence of מליץ is in 2 Chr 32:31, where the word represents ambassadors or envoys sent by the rulers of Babylon. In all four cases, מליץ is used in a non-pejorative sense. Very striking is the use of מליץ in construct form and with pejorative noun in designating the enemies of the author in these hymns:

- 10:16 ואהיה איש ריב למליצי תעות
And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error
- 12:8 ומליצי רמיה [התעו]ם
And interpreters of deceit [have led them astray]
- 12:10-11 והמה מליצי כזב וחוזי רמיה
And they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit
- 12:21 וחוזי תעות לא ימצאו עוד
And seers of error will be found no more

Worth noting is that תעות, occurring four times in the *Hodayot*, is found in this hymn (10:16) as well as in 12:6-13:6 (ll. 12:13, 17, 21). The verbal form of חזה is used only in these two hymns as well (10:17; 12:11, 21).

The motifs of stumbling without understanding and of foreign tongue, which are used in describing the enemies of the author, are distinctive to 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6. The use of מור in describing the opponents' unfaithfulness is also found in these two hymns.

- 10:20-21 וימירום בערול שפה ולשון אחרת לעם לא בינות לחלבט במשגתם
But they have exchanged them for an uncircumcised lip and foreign tongue of a people without understanding, ruined in their mistake
- 12:8 וילבטו בלא בינה
and they have come to ruin without understanding
- 12:11-12 להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות לעמכה
to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart, for the smooth things to your people
- 12:17 והם [ב]ל[וע]ג שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך
And they, [with stammer]ing lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people

As shown above, these two motifs are allusions to Isa 28:11 and Hos 4:14. They are used only in these two hymns and not attested elsewhere in the DSS corpus. Their similar use of Scripture makes it even likely that there is literary dependence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6.

Another similarity is the use of מזמה, מחשבה, זמה in portraying the wicked plans of Belial. Remarkably, the word בליעל occurs only within columns 10-15 and the motif of the plots of Belial is found only in these two hymns.

- 10:18 ... ומזמות בליעל
and the plots of Belial ...
- 12:13-14 כי אתה אל תנאץ כל מחשבת בליעל
For you, O God, despise every plan of Belial
- 12:14-15 והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל יחשובו
But they are dissemblers, the devices of Belial they plan

A final correspondence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 is the author's same declaration of having received wonderful mysteries. In both cases, the emphasis is placed on the fact that it is God who has caused the author to know His mysteries:

- 10:15 ותימני נס לבחירי צדק ומליץ דעת ברזי פלא
And you have made me a banner to the chosen of righteousness,
and an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries
- 12:28-9 כי הודעתני ברזי פלאכה
For you have caused me to know the mysteries of your wonders

In summary, there are seven cases of significant correspondence between 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6: 1. מליץ + pejorative noun; 2. תעות, a word distinctive to these two hymns and unattested in the Hebrew Bible; 3. the motif of stumbling without understanding; 4. the motif of foreign tongue; 5. מור; 6. the plots of בליעל; 7. the motif of receiving wonderful mysteries. Their linguistic and thematic similarities would point to literary dependence or the same authorship as a strong possibility.

3.2 1QH 10:22-32

3.2.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 2:20-30 (plate 36); SHR 190413
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 162

- אורכה אדוני כי שמתה נפשי בצרור החיים 22
- ותשוך בעדי מוקשי שחת [כי] עריצים בקשו נפשי בתומכי 23
- בבריתך והמה סוד הוא ועדת בליעל לא ידעו כיא מאתכה מעמדי 24
- ובחסדיכה תושיע נפשי כיא מאתכה מצעדי והמה מאתכה גרו 25
- על נפשי בעבור הכבדכה במשפט רשעים והגבירכה בי נגד בני 26
- אדם כיא בחסדיכה עמדי ואני אמרתי חנו עלי גבורים סבבים¹⁶ בכל 27

¹⁶ Sukenik's transcription of סבבים has made it difficult to interpret this line. Commentators tend to treat it as a scribal error and emend the text to סבבוני (Bardtke 1956b: 591; Delcor 1962: 105; Douglas 1998: 119; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 34; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 40; Knibb 1988: 168; Licht 1957: 71; Lohse 1971: 118; Wallenstein 1950: 5). However, without emending the text, one can take

28 כלי מלחמותם ויפרו חצים לאין מרפא ולהוב חנית באש אוכלת עצים
 29 וכחמון מים רבים שאון קולם נפץ וזרם¹⁷ להשחית רבים למזורות יבקעו
 30 אפעה ושוא בהתרומם גליהם ואני במום לבי כמים ותחזק נפשי בבריתך
 31 והם רשת פרשו לי תלכוד רגלם ופחים טמנו לנפשי נפלו בם ורגלי עמדה במישור
 32 מקהלם אברכה שמכה

22. I give you thanks, O Lord,
 for you have placed my soul in the pouch of the living
 23. and you have fenced me off from all the snares of the pit.¹⁸
 [for] ruthless men sought my soul
 24. when I held fast (24) to your covenant.
- And they are a council of worthlessness and a congregation of Belial,
 they do not know that from you is my stand
 25. and that by your lovingkindness you save my soul, for from you is my step.
26. And they, it is from you that they have assailed (26) my soul
 so that you may be honoured by the judgement of the wicked
 and that you might manifest your power through me
 27. before the sons of (27) man, for in your lovingkindness is my stand.
- And I said, mighty men have encamped against me,
 28. surrounding with all (28) their weapons of war.
 And arrows have burst forth without cure
 and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees.
 29. And like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice,
 cloudburst and thunderstorm to destroy many.
 30. To the stars¹⁹ burst out (30) wickedness and worthlessness when their waves splash up.

it as a Qal participle, סבבים since ו and י are almost written identically in the *Hodayot*, the same reading proposed by other scholars (see Carmignac 1961: 189; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 162; Kittel 1981: 40; Lohfink 1990: 49; Tanzer 1986: 60).

¹⁷ Sukenik and García Martínez transcribed נפץ זרם but it can be seen that a י was written immediately before זרם. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 34), Wallenstein (1950: 9), Lohse (1971: 118) and Kittel (1980: 34) have the same reading. The occurrence of this phrase in Isa 30:30 makes this even more likely.

¹⁸ Here the majority of scholars translate שחת as “pit.” Murphy (1958a: 61-66) argues vigorously that שחת should connote something more than “pit.” The Qumran writers, as he points out, might have borrowed the biblical concept of שחת but adapted it for their particular usage, even pouring new meaning into the term. He then propounds that the term should be taken in the sense of moral corruption at Qumran. Murphy is commendable for drawing our attention to the fact that in some cases the context speaks more in favor of this meaning. Whether the idea of “moral corruption” should be applied to all the occurrences of שחת, however, is highly questionable. Even more, his analysis does show that the idea of death and the nether world is still very much intact at Qumran. In point of fact, other scholars, among whom Tromp and Wächter may be mentioned, suggest that the usage of שחת in Qumran literature corresponds somewhat to the OT usage, and that it is used in the senses “Pit” and “corruption” (Tromp 1969: 69; Wächter 1993: 1248). Thus it seems necessary to determine the meaning of שחת from its context. Of special significance is the use of חיים here. In light of the whole context, שחת is to be taken as a parallel to the preceding line. The context points to the traditional idea of “pit” as most probable.

¹⁹ Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 40) renders, “By repeated crushings,” on the basis of Isa 59:5, where it says, הזורר תבקע אפעה. So are Kittel (1981: 35) and Williams (1991: 140). Although this line draws on the language of Isa 59:5, the word מזורות apparently has a close connection to מזורת “constellations” at Job 38:32 and this meaning seems to fit the context better here (see García

And I, when my heart dissolves like water, my soul holds fast to your covenant.

31. But they, the net which they spread for me has captured their feet,
and the snares which they set up secretly for my soul have fallen upon them.
But my foot stands on level ground,
32. from their assembly I will bless your name. *vacat*

3.2.2 Structure and Content

This is one of the most complete and well preserved hymns in the *Hodayot*. Both the beginning and the end of the hymn can be clearly ascertained. The standard introductory formula, **אֲדֹנִי אֹרְכָה**, is indented to the middle of line 22 and the rest of line 32 is left blank after the word **שִׁמְכָה**. There is only one small lacuna in the middle of line 23, and many scholars suggest to restore **כִּי**.²⁰

This hymn is well structured and characterised by the use of independent pronouns and its structure is as follows:

- A. 22-24a: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
- B. 24b-30: Main section in which the author is set in opposition to his enemies and the contrast is achieved through the changing of independent pronouns **וְהִמָּה** (24, 25) and **וְאֲנִי** (27, 30).
- C. 31-32: The conclusion describes the author's victory over his enemies.

The opening line of the hymn has a pattern characteristic of the majority of the *Hodayot* within columns 10-17: **אֲדֹנִי אֹרְכָה** + **כִּי** + a second masculine singular perfect verb. The author offers thanks to God for His protection, giving a statement of intent to praise God. Remarkable is the frequent use of **נַפְשִׁי** (ll. 22, 23, 25, 30, 31) as a circumlocution for the author himself.

The main section begins with **וְהִמָּה** at line 24 and sets the focus on the enemies. Specific names for the wicked, for example, **עֲדַת בְּלִיעֵל** "congregation of Belial," are used. The enemies are mentioned but only as a means of emphasizing the author's relationship with God. On three occasions, the author uses **כִּי־אֲנִי** with a nominal clause (ll. 24, 25, 26) and states that despite the presence of his enemies, it is God who has made him stand firm. The second half of the section is balanced by two **אֲנִי** paragraphs. The fierce attacks of the enemies are portrayed vividly in apocalyptic terms, such as the battle imagery and the image of the destructive waters. The section ends with the author's declaration of his trust in God's covenant. The

Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 162; Glanzman 1952: 507; Knibb 1988: 168; Licht 1957: 71; Lohse 1971: 119).

²⁰ Bardtke (1956b: 591), Carmignac (1961: 188), Delcor (1962: 102), García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997: 162), Kittel (1980: 34), Licht (1957: 70), Lohse (1971: 116), Tanzer (1986: 60). See also Dupont-Sommer (1957: 41) and Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 40) who appear to have understood that there is a space before **עֲרִיצִים**.

strategic use of ברית at the end of the section (10:30) echoes the introductory lines where the author declares his holding fast to the covenant of God (10:23d-24a).

The final section is marked by the use of הם and describes the enemies' vain attempt to set a trap against the author. The hymn is rounded off by the author's vow to praise God.

The dense use of biblical language is quite evident in this hymn. The sentence "ruthless men sought my soul" at 10:23 is taken either from Ps 54:5 or from Ps 86:14. Remarkable is the skilful use of Isa 30:30 and Jer 51:55 in 10:28-29, as depicted below:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 10:28-29 | <p><u>ולחוב חנית באש אוכלת עצים</u>
 <u>וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם</u>
 <u>נפץ וזרם להשחית רבים</u>
 and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees.
 And like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice,
 cloudburst and thunderstorm to destroy many.</p> |
| Jer 51:55 | <p><u>כי־שדד יהוה את־בבל ואבד ממנה קול גדול</u>
 <u>והמו גליהם כמים רבים נתן שאון קולם</u>
 For the LORD is laying Babylon waste, and stilling her mighty voice.
 Their waves roar like many waters, the din of their voice is raised.</p> |
| Isa 30:30 | <p><u>והשמיע יהוה את־הוד קולו ונחת זרועו ויראה</u>
 <u>בזעף אף ולהב אש אוכלת נפץ וזרם ואבן ירד</u>
 And the LORD will cause his majestic voice to be heard
 and the descending blow of his arm to be seen,
 in furious anger and a flame of devouring fire,
 with a cloudburst and tempest and hailstones.</p> |

The point to be emphasized is that the first line of 10:28-29 draws on the language of Isa 30:30, the second line alludes to Jer 51:55, and the third is again based on Isa 30:30. This 'inclusio' use of Scripture is all the more striking. Finally, the last line of the hymn is a clear citation from Ps 26:12:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 10:31a-32 | <p><u>ורגלי עמדה במישור מקהלם אברכה שמכה</u>
 But my foot stands on level ground, from their assembly I will bless your name.</p> |
| Ps 26:12 | <p><u>רגלי עמדה במישור במקהלים אברך יהוה</u>
 My foot stands on level ground; in the great congregation I will bless the LORD.</p> |

3.2.3 Literary Affinity

10:22-32 has a few similarities with 10:1-21. עריצים, occurring twice in the *Hodayot*, is found only in these two hymns and used to describe the enemies of the author:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 10:12-13 | <p><u>ואחיה על עון רשעים רבה בשפת עריצים</u>
 And on account of the iniquity of the wicked,</p> |
|----------|---|

I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men

10:23 עריצים בקשו נפשי
Ruthless men sought my soul

Another affinity between these two hymns is the same motif of dissolving heart:

10:8 חזקים למוס לבבי
the strong, to dissolve my heart

10:30 ואני במוס לבי כמים ותחזק נפשי בבריתך
And I, when my heart dissolves like water, my soul holds fast to your covenant.

There are two syntactic parallels between 10:1-21 and 10:22-32.

10:14 בהרגש גליהם
when their waves rush forth

10:30 בהתרומם גליהם
when their waves splash up

10:18 אנשי רמיה עלי יהמו כקול המון מים רבים
[m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters

10:29 וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם
and like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice

The first parallel is the use of ב + infinitive + גליהם while the second one is the use of chaotic water imagery to describe the fierce attack of the enemies. המון “roar, tumult, abundance” is used negatively and positively in the *Hodayot*. It is used to describe the abundance of God’s mercy²¹ on the one hand; on the other, it is used to describe the chaos of destructive waters.²² The use of המון in the pejorative sense is found only in columns 10-14. More importantly, these constructions occur only in these two hymns and are not attested elsewhere in the DSS corpus.

Moreover, this hymn shows a number of similarities with 12:6-13:6. The most notable affinity between these two hymns is their prominent use of independent pronouns (10: 24, 25, 27, 30, 31; 12:7, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19, 31, 34, 36, 39, 41). Very striking is the use of המה with a pejorative noun in these two hymns. More importantly, the word בליעל, unattested outside columns 10-15, is used in conjunction with המה. The following structural pattern is unique to 10:22-32 and 12:6-13:6:

המה + Pejorative noun + Verb:

10:24 והמה סוד שוא ועדת בליעל לא ידעו
And they are a council of worthlessness and a congregation of Belial, they do not know

²¹ Cf. 1QH 7:19; 12:37, 38; 14:12; 15:33, 38; 17:8, 34; possibly 13:4

²² Cf. 1QH 10:18, 29; 11:14, 15, 17; 11:33, 35; 14:10.

- 12:10-11 והמה מליצי כזב וחוזי רמיה זממו עלי בליעל
And they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit,
they have planned against me with Belial
- 12:14-15 והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל יחשבו
But they are dissemblers, the devices of Belial they plan

The motif of dissolving heart is found in these two hymns:

- 10:30 במוס לבי כמים
when my heart dissolves like water
- 12:34 וימס לבבי כדונג
And my heart has dissolved like wax

A final strong correspondence between these two hymns is their use of the expression הגבירכה בי, underscoring the author's role and significance, as Douglas has shown. The author is God's instrument, a channel through whom God manifests his power before the sons of man.

- 10:26-7 והגבירכה בי נגר בני אדם
and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man
- 12:9 ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי
and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me
- 12:24 לא יחשבוני עך הגבירכה בי
they do not esteem [me e]ven as you manifest your power through me

In short, 10:22-32 has four linguistic affinities with 10:1-21: 1. עריצים; 2. the motif of dissolving heart; 3. ב + infinitive + גליהם; 4. קול + המון מים רבים. This hymn also has four significant correspondences with 12:6-13:6: 1. the use of independent pronouns (אני, המה); 2. המה + perjorative noun + verb; 3. the motif of dissolving heart; 4. הגבירכה בי. All these thematic and structural similarities would suggest that there is literary dependence among these three hymns and they might have been the work of the same author.

3.3 IQH 10:33-41

3.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 2:31-39 (plate 36); SHR 190413

IQH 10:35-41 = 4Q428 frg. 20:1-9

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 162-4

- 33 אורכה אדוני כיא עינכה ע[מדה] על נפשי ותצילני מקנאת מליצי כזב
- 34 ומעדת דורשי חלקות פדית[נה] נפש אביון אשר חשבו להתם דמו
- 35 לשפוך על עבודתכה אפס כי] לא ידעו כי מאתך מצעדי וישימוני לבוז
- 36 וחרפה בפי כל דורשי רמיה ואתה אלי עזרתה נפש עני ורש

37	מִיד חֶזֶק מִמֶּנּוּ וְתַפַּד נַפְשִׁי מִיַּד אֲדִירִים וּבְגֵדֵי לֹא ²³ חֲתִיתִנִּי	
38	לְעֹזֹב עֲבוֹדַתְכָּה מִפֶּחַד הָיוֹת רַ	] 39
	מִן חֹרִי קִים וּבִתְעוּדוֹת נִנְתָּנוּ לְאֲזִנִּים	] 40
	חֵת לְכֹל צִאצְאֵי הֵם	] 41
	בְּלִמְ[וֹר] יִכְה []	

33. I give you thanks, O Lord,
for your eye is fo[cused] upon my soul
and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood
34. and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things.

- [You] have ransomed the soul of the poor which they considered removing,
35. by pouring his blood out upon your service;
only that they [do not know] that from you is my step.
36. And they have made me a contempt (36) and a reproach
in the mouth of all those who seek deceitfulness.

- And you, my God, have helped the soul of the afflicted and the destitute
37. against the hand of one stronger than he.
And you have ransomed my soul from the hand of majestic ones and
with their taunt you have not made me dismayed,
38. so as to abandon your service for fear of destructions r[]m
and to exchange a steadfast purpose for folly which
39. h[]mw statutes and by testimonies given to (their) ears
40. []ht to all [their] offspring
41. [] among your disci[ples]

3.3.2 Structure and Content

Without the usual indentation, the opening formula of the hymn is set at the right-hand margin of line 33. The last few lines of this column and the first five lines of the next column are full of gaps, making it difficult to determine the end of the hymn. It is possible that this hymn does not end in column 10 but extends to 11:19.²⁴ The majority of the scholars however take 10:33-41 as one hymn because the structure and content of this hymn is so different from those of column 11.²⁵ The structure of the hymn is outlined as follows:

- A. 33-34a: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
B. 34b-41: Main section in which the author describes how God has not only delivered his life from the enemies but also kept him from

²³ 4Q428 frg. 20:4 has לֹא instead.

²⁴ Carmignac (1961: 191-8) takes 10:33-11:19 as one composition. Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 47) suggests the conclusion of the hymn to be found somewhere in 11:3. In agreement with Stegemann, Tanzer (1986: 72) restores the introductory formula at 11:6. If this is correct, this hymn would end at 11:5.

²⁵ Dupont-Sommer (1957: 34-5), Jeremias (1963: 201-2), Licht (1957: 73-5), Schulz (1974: 12), Wise-Abegg-Cook (1996: 93).

falling away. The last few lines of the column are so fragmentary that nothing certain can be made out of them.

3.3.3 Literary Affinity

Similar to the last two hymns, 10:33-41 has a number of lexical affinities with 12:6-13:6. כזב occurs three times in the *Hodayot* and all its occurrences are found in these two hymns. Even more, the phrase מליצי כזב “interpreters of falsehood” occurs exclusively in these two hymns.

- 10:33 ותצילני מקנאת מליצי כזב
and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood
- 12:10-11 והמה מליצי כזב וחוזי רמיה
and they are interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit
- 12:16-17 ויבאו לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות
and they have come to the one who seek you from the mouth of lying prophets, persuaded by error

There are two other words distinctive to these two hymns: חולל and חלקה. The verbal form of מור in describing the unfaithfulness of the author’s enemies is also used.

- 10:34 ומעדת דורשי חלקות
and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things
- 10:38 ולחמיר בחולל יצר סמוך
and to exchange a steadfast purpose for folly
- 12:11-12 להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות לעמכה
to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart, for the smooth things to your people
- 12:9 בחולל מעשיהם
in folly are their deeds

This hymn shows a few affinities with 10:1-21. חרפה, occurring twice in the *Hodayot*, is distinctive to these two hymns. It should be noted that the use of שים with first person singular suffix is restricted to columns 10-15.

- 10:11-12 ותשימני חרפה וקלס לבוגדים
and you have made me a reproach and a derision for traitors
- 10:18 [אנ]שי רמיה עלי יהמו כקול המון מים רבים
[m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters
- 10:35-36 וישימוני לבוז וחרפה בפי כל דורשי רמיה
and they have made me a contempt and a reproach in the mouth of all those who seek deceitfulness.

The use of מליץ with pejorative noun is also a feature characteristic of these two hymns. If חלקות is the word at the end of line 17, another close parallel between these hymns is the expression דורשי חלקות.

- 10:17 ואהיה לרוח קנאה לנגד כל דורשי חלקות
and I have become a zealous spirit against all those whose seek sm[ooth things].
- 10:34 ומעדת דורשי חלקות
and from the congregation of the seekers of smooth things
- 10:16 ואהיה איש ריב למליצי תעות
And I have become a man of strife for the interpreters of error
- 10:33 ותצילני מקנאת מליצי כזב
and you have delivered me from the jealousy of the interpreters of falsehood

The use of נפש in this short hymn is worth mentioning. It is a feature so characteristic of the hymn 10:22-32, in which נפש is used six times (ll. 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31). The following close correspondence between 10:1-21 and 10:22-32 should not go unnoticed because the prepositional phrase מֵאֲתַכְּהָךְ is unique to them in the *Hodayot*:

- 10:25 כִּי־אֲתַכְּהָ מֵצַעְדִּי
for from you is my step
- 10:35 כִּי־מֵאֲתַךְ מֵצַעְדִּי
that from you is my step

In conclusion, 10:33-41 has four linguistic affinities with 12:6-13:6: 1. מליצי כזב; 2. מור; 3. חלקה; 4. חולל. It also has four cases of linguistic parallel to 10:1-21: 1. מליץ + pejorative noun; 2. שים + first person singular suffix; 3. דורשי חלקות; 4. מליץ. There are two cases of correspondence between this short hymn and 10:22-32: the use of נפש and כִּי־אֲתַכְּהָ מֵצַעְדִּי. All these correspondences establish a literary link between these four hymns and the most probable explanation is to posit literary dependence.

3.4 1QH 12:6-13:6

3.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 4:5-5:4 (plate 38 & 39); frg. 43; SHR 190416, 4260A
1QH 12:14-20 = 4Q430 frg. 1:1-7
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 166-70

אֲדַרְכָּה אֲדוֹנִי כִּי־אֲדַרְכָּה פְּנֵי לְבָרִיתְכָּה וּמִן
[אֲדַרְשָׁכָה וּכְשָׁחַר נִכּוֹן לְאוֹרְתְּךָ]²⁶ הוֹפַעְתָּה לִּי וְהִמָּה עֲמֻכָּה]

²⁶ This word, occurring again in line 24 and 1QH 21:14, is not found in the Bible. Bardtke (1956b: 589) renders “zu ihrer Erleuchtung”, taking it as אֲדַרְכָּה with an irregular third person plural suffix. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 42; similarly Carmignac 1961: 205; Delcor 1962: 138) reads לְאוֹרְתִּים, taking it as a dual form of אֲדַרְכָּה. Most scholars are probably right in taking it as a collocation of אֲדַרְכָּה and תּוֹם and translate “perfect light” (cf. DeVries 1964-66: 392; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 1997: 166; Holm-Neilsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 204; Laurin 1958: 352; see also Vermes 1995:

- 8 [] רים החליקן למו ומליצי רמיה [התעו]ם וילבטו בלא בינה כיאן
- 9 בחולל מעשיהם כי נמאסו²⁷ למו ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי כ^א ידיחני מארצי
- 10 כצפור מקנה וכול רעי ומודעי נדחו ממני ויחשבוני לכלי אובד והמה מליצי
- 11 כזב וחוזי רמיה זממו עלי בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות
- 12 לעמכה ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומין למען) הבט אל
- 13 תעותם להתחולל במועדיה^מ להתפש במצודותם כי אתה אל תנאין כל מחשבת
- 14 בליעל ועצתכה היא תקום ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל
- 15 יחשובו וידרשוכה בלב ולב ולא נכונו באמתכה שורש פורח רוש ולענה במחשבותם
- 16 ועם שרירות לבם יתורו וידרשוכה בגלולים ומכשול עוונם שמו לנגד פניהם ויבאו
- 17 לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות והם [ב]ל[וע]ג שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך
- 18 לחולל ברמיה כול מעשיהם כי לא בחרו בן [] כה ולא האזינו לדברכה כי אמרו
- 19 לחזון דעת לא נכון ולדרך לבכה לא היאה כי אתה אל תענה להם לשופטם
- 20 בגבורתכה [כ]גלוליהם וכרוב פשעיהם למען יתפשו במחשבותם אשר נזורו מבריתכה
- 21 ותכרת במ[שפ]ט כול אנשי מרמה וחוזי תעות לא ימצאו עוד כי אין חולל כול מעשיך
- 22 ולא רמיה [ב]מזמת לבכה ואשר כנפשכה יעמודו לפניכה לעד וחולכי בדרך לבכה
- 23 יכונו לנצח [וא]ני בתומכי בכה אתעודדה ואקומה על מנאצי וידי על כול בזוי כיא
- 24 לא יחשבוני ע[ד] הגבירכה בי ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתום ולא טחתה בבושת פני
- 25 כול הנדר[שים] לי הנועדים יחד^ח לבריתכה וישומעוני החולכים בדרך לבכה ויערכו לכה
- 26 בסוד קדושים ותוצא לנצח משפטם ולמישרים אמת ולא תתעם ביד חלכאים
- 27 כזומם למו ותתן מוראם על עמכה ומפין לכול עמי הארצות להכרית במשפט כול
- 28 עוברי פיכה ובי האירותה פני רבים ותגבר עד לאין מספר כי הודעתני ברזי
- 29 פלאכה ובסוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור כבודכה ולהודיע
- 30 לכול החיים גבורותיכה מי בשר כזאת ומה יצר חמר להגדיל פלאות והוא בעון
- 31 מרחם ועד שבה באשמת מעל ואני ידעתי כי ל^א לאנוש צדקה ול^א לבן אדם תום
- 32 דרך לאל עליון כול מעשי צדקה ודרך אנוש ל^א תכון כי אם ברוח יצר אל לו
- 33 להתם דרך לבני אדם למען ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח גבורתו ורוב רחמיו על כול בני
- 34 רצונו ואני רעד ורתת אחזוני וכול גרמי ירועו וימס לבבי כדונג מן^ל פני²⁸ אש וילכו ברכי
- 35 כמים מוגרים במורד כי זכרתי אשמותי עם מעל אבותי בקום רשעים על בריתך
- 36 וחלכאים על דברכה ואני אמרתי בפשעי נעזבתי מבריתכה ובזוכרי כוח ידכה עם
- 37 המון רחמיכה התעודדתי ואקומה ורוחי החזיקה במעמד לפני נגע כי נשענתי
- 38 בחסדיכה והמון רחמיכה כי תכפר עוון ולטן [] ש מאשמה בצדקתכה
- 39 ולא לאדם [] עשיתה כי אתה בראתה צדיק ורשע []
- 40 [] אתחזקה בבריתכה עד []
- 41 [] יכה כי אמת אתה וצדק כול []
- [1
- [2

198). This feature is not uncommon in the Dead Sea Scrolls as Dr. Lim has pointed out (cf. DJD22 4Q303).

²⁷ Sukenik transcribed נמאסו. Most scholars read גמאסתי, believing that the writer omitted the ת (Bardtke 1956b: 595; Licht 1957: 92; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 42; Sonne 1950-51: 295; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 204; Maier 1960: 81; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 166), a reading followed by the present writer.

²⁸ ל has been erased from the text and is singled out for deletion by means of dot above and below the letter.

3 ליום עם]
 4 סליחותיכה והנמוך
 5 ובדעתי אלה נחמן
 6 על פי רצונכה ובין[כה משפט כולם

6. I give you thanks, O Lord,
 for you have enlightened my face by your covenant and m[]
 7. [] I shall seek you and as sure as dawn you have appeared to me as [perfect li]ght.

And they, your people [

8. [] *מְרַמְּמִים* they have flattered them
 and interpreters of deceit [have led them astray]
 and they have come to ruin without understanding, for [
9. in folly are their deeds,
 for I have been despised by them
 and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me.
10. For they have driven me away²⁹ from my land (10) like a bird from its nest,
 and all my friends and acquaintances have been driven away from me
 and they have regarded me as a broken vessel.
11. And they are interpreters of (11) falsehood and seers of deceit,
 they have planned against me with Belial,
 so as to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart,
12. for the smooth things (12) to your people.
 And they have withheld the drink of knowledge from the thirsty,
 and for their thirst they have given them vinegar to drink,
13. in order to gaze upon (13) their error,
 that they may behave madly at their feasts,
 that they may be caught in their nets.
14. For you, O God, despise every plan of (14) Belial,
 and your counsel prevails
 and the purpose of your heart is established forever.
- But they are dissemblers,
 15. the devices of Belial (15) they plan
 and they seek you with a double heart
 and they are not established in your truth.
 A root producing poison and wormwood is in their thoughts
16. and with stubbornness of their heart they search,
 and they seek you among the idols,
 and the stumbling-block of their iniquity they set before their faces
17. and they have come (17) to the one who seek you³⁰ from the mouth of lying prophets,

²⁹ Most scholars have translated “they have driven me away,” taking this verb *יִדְּחוּנִי* as a collective singular (Carmignac 1961: 206; deVries 1964-66: 392; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 169; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 76; Jeremias 1963: 205; Lohse 1971: 125; Sonne 1950-51: 295; Wise-Abegg-Cook 1996: 95). The immediate context, using verbs with plural subjects and giving a portrayal of the enemies, seems to suggest this reading. It is probable that there is a scribal error here and it should read *יִדְּחוּנִי*. It is also possible that we have a defective writing here. However, this particular use is unattested elsewhere in the *Hodayot*. It may be an exception here. On balance, it seems better to take this as a collective singular.

³⁰ Most scholars take *לְדוֹרְשֶׁכָּה* as an infinitive with second person singular suffix, rendering “to seek you” (Carmignac 1961: 206; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 43; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:

persuaded by error.

- And they, [with stammer]ing lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people,
18. in order to turn all their deeds to folly with deceit.
For they have not chosen *b[]kh*
and they do not give ear to your word.
19. For they said (19) of the vision of knowledge, 'it is not sure!',
and of the way of your heart, 'it is not that!'
20. But you, O God, will answer them by judging them (20) with your power
[according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions,
that they may be caught in their own plans,
those who are estranged from your covenant.
21. And you will cut off all men of deceit by *ju[dgemen]t*
and seers of error will be found no more.
For there is no folly in all your deeds,
22. and no deceit [in] the intention of your heart.
And those who are in accordance with you shall stand before you forever,
23. and those who walk in the way of your heart (23) shall be established forever.

- [As for *m]e*, when I hold fast to you,
I stand upright and rise against those who despise me
and my hands are against all those who scorn me;
24. for they do (24) not esteem [*me e]*ven as you manifest your power through me
and you appear to me in your strength as perfect light.
25. And you do not besmear with shame, the faces (25) of all [those who are] sought by me,
those who are gathered together for your covenant.
And those who walk in the way of your heart have listened to me.
26. And they arraigned before you (26) in the council of the holy ones.
And you will bring forth their justice to victory and truth to uprightness.
And you will not let them wander at the hand of the scoundrels
27. as they plot against them.
And you will put the fear of them upon your people
and a shattering for all the peoples of the lands,
28. to destroy by judgement all (28) those who transgress your word.
But by me you have enlightened the faces of the Many,
and have brought mighty witnesses without number.
29. For you have caused me to know the mysteries (29) of your wonders,
and by your wonderful counsel you have strengthened my standing,
and to do wonderful acts before the Many for the sake of your glory
30. and to make known (30) to all living things your mighty deeds.

- What is flesh? Like this?
and what is a creature of clay to do wonderful things?
31. and he is in iniquity (31) from womb and until old age in guilt of treachery.
And I know that to man does not belong righteousness
32. nor to a son of man perfect (32) way.
To God Most High belong all the deeds of righteousness,
and the way of man is not established except by spirit has God formed him,
33. to perfect the way of the sons of man,
in order that all his works may know the power of his might
34. and the abundance of his compassion upon all the sons of (34) his pleasure.

And I, dread and trembling have gripped me,
and all my bones have broken,

169; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 77; Jeremias 1963: 206; Lohse 1971: 127; Wise-Abegg-Cook 1996: 96; Vermes 1995: 200). However, דרש should be the participle of דרש.

- and my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire,
 35. and my knees have gone (35) like water rushing down the slope.
 For I have remembered my guilt together with the treachery of my fathers,
 when the wicked rose against your covenant
 36. and the scoundrels against your word,
- Then I said, in my transgression I have been abandoned from your covenant,
 and when I remembered the power of your hand together
 37. with the abundance of your compassion, I stood upright and rose up,
 and my spirit strengthened (my) position against affliction.
 38. For [I] relied (38) on your lovingkindness and the multitude of your compassion.
 For you shall atone iniquity and *l[]š* from guilt by your righteousness
 39. and not for man [] you made,
 for you created the righteous and the wicked []
 40. [] I will hold fast to your covenant until []
 41. [] *ykh* for you are truth and righteousness are all []
 1. []
 2. []
 3. to the day with []
 4. your forgiveness and the ab[undance
 5. and when I know these *nhm*[]
 6. in accordance with your will, and in your ha[nd] is the judgement of them all. *vacat*

3.4.2 Structure and Content

The standard introductory formula, **אֲדַרְכָּה אֲדֹנִי**, is slightly indented from the right-hand margin on line 6, and the same formula appears again at 13:7. Another introductory formula might have lost in the lacuna of 12:40 or 12:41; however, this would make a hymn of 7 or 8 lines and so short a hymn is not attested elsewhere in the *Hodayot*. More likely, the hymn ends at 13:6.³¹

Once again, the repetitive use of independent pronouns offers a good structural marker in the hymn. There are four **וְהֵמָּה/הֵמָּה** paragraphs in the first half of the hymn, which are then balanced by four **אֲנִי** in the second half.³² The structure of the hymn is outlined as follows:

A. 6-7b: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.

³¹ There is a space of 0.6mm, which is unusually long for separating two consecutive words. It may then be suggested that **כִּי־לִי** is the last word of line 6 and thus ends the line with a black space.

³² Douglas (1998: 101) claims that he is able to read a **וְאֲנִי** before **אֶתְחַזְקֶה** on line 40. This reading would support his argument that the first **וְאֲנִי** introduces the climax of the hymn and the next four **וְאֲנִי** paragraphs balance the first four **וְהֵמָּה**, thereby giving a sense of unity to the hymn. He (1998: 106) writes: "If we allow for the climactic position of the first **וְאֲנִי**, and label it E, then the structure of the composition is a pyramid, with this section as the apex: ABCD^ED¹C¹B¹A¹. DCBA (**וְאֲנִי**) stands antithetically to ABCD (**וְהֵמָּה**)." The present writer has checked carefully the photographic plate in Sukenik's *editio princeps* and magnified the digitalized image of line 40 using *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*, and still fails to see a **וְאֲנִי**. The latest *Study Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170) does not speak in favour of his reading either. Suffice it to say that the four **וְאֲנִי** paragraphs already make an inclusio with the four **וְהֵמָּה**.

- B. 7c-23a: Description of the enemies and their relationship with God. Remarkable is the use of four והם/המה with two intervening אתה:
 (13) כי אתה אל, (10) והמה, (7) והמה
 (19) כי אתה אל, (17) והם, (14) והמה
- C. 23b-30a: Description of the author and his relationship with God, beginning with ואני. The section highlights the author's role and his relation with his followers.
- D. 30b-13:6: Personal reflection in which the author meditates upon his own unworthiness before God by means of three ואני paragraphs (ll. 31, 34, 36).

The hymn opens with the standard formula, followed by כיא with a second person masculine singular perfect verb. God's mighty work of giving the new light of revelation is stated as the occasion for the author's praise. The motif of light is often associated with God's theophany to Moses. In Ex 33-34, God appears to Moses, making His glory pass before him and mediating the covenant to him. Here God has made the author no less than Moses, causing his face to shine.

The first major section is marked by והמה, referring pointedly to the author's enemies. Descriptive names of the enemies are given. They are מליצי רמיה "interpreters of deceit," מליצי כזב "interpreters of falsehood," חוזי רמיה "seers of deceit," and נעלמים "dissemblers." The first half of the section describes the relationship of the wicked to the author. The wicked have despised the author and even driven him away from his land. The second half of the section, 14c-23a, no longer talks about the enemies' attack on the author but sets the focus on the wicked and their relationship to God. They seek God among the idols and with a double heart, thereby setting a stumbling block before themselves. The section ends with the contrasting theme of divine judgement.

The next section, 23b-30a, is introduced by the change of independent pronoun to אני and the focus shifts to the author. The opening lines of this section make use of key expressions reminiscent of the beginning of the hymn:

- 12:24 לא יחשבוןני עך הגבירכה בי ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתום
 they do not esteem [me e]ven as you manifest your power through me
 and you appear to me in your strength as perfect light
- 12:7 וכשחר נכון לאורתום חופעתה לי
 and as sure as dawn you have appeared to me as [perfect li]ght
- 12:9 ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי
 and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me

It further links to the previous section by repeating the key phrase of line 22b-23a:

- 12:25 וישומעוני החולכים בדרך לבכה
 and those who walk in the way of your heart have listened to me

12:22-23 והולכי בדרך לבבך יכוננו לנצח
and those who walk in the way of your heart shall be established forever

This technique of beginning a new section by repeating key expressions from the previous sections is a feature characteristic of this group of hymns. Despite the attacks of the wicked, the author rises to a glowing declaration of confidence. He states how important a role he has played for the righteous. The special revelatory knowledge about divine mysteries has enabled the author to bring illumination to many.

The change of mood and the use of rhetorical statements call for a new section at line 30. This section sets the creaturely lowliness of sinful humanity in sharp contrast with the righteousness of almighty God. It opens with two rhetorical questions, followed by three אני paragraphs (ll. 31, 34, 36). In the first אני paragraph, the author confesses that righteousness belongs to God alone and it is God who can perfect the way of man. There is a sudden shift of addressing God from second person to third person in this paragraph. This change may be accounted for by the fact that this paragraph is a soteriological confession.³³ Remembering his own guilt has made the author dread and trembling in the second אני paragraph. In the third paragraph, the author makes a declaration that he will rely on God's mercy and hold fast to His covenant. These three paragraphs in some ways give a response to the questions raised in the beginning of the section. For instance, the use of אשמת in conjunction with מעל recalls the opening line of the section:

12:35 כי זכרתי אשמותי עם מעל אבותי
for I have remembered my guilt together with the treachery of my fathers
12:30-31 והוא בעוון מרחם ועד שבה באשמת מעל
and he is in iniquity from womb and until old age in guilt of treachery³⁴

This hymn makes extensive use of Scripture. Much attention is given to the lexical linkages between this hymn and the biblical passages under consideration. Close parallels can be drawn between 12:8 and Hos 14:4, and between 12:16 and Isa 28:11:

12:8 וילבטו בלא בינה
and they have come to ruin without understanding
Hos 4:14c ועם לא־יבין ילבט
and a people without understanding comes to ruin
12:17 והם [ב]ל[וע]ג שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך
And they, [with stammer]ing lip and foreign tongue, speak to your people

³³ Cf. Kuhn (1966: 26) claims that the *soteriologischen Bekenntnisse* are always introduced by the formula אני ידעתי כי.

³⁴ The same combination of אשמת and מעל is found in 19:11.

Isa 28:11 כי בלעגי שפה ובלשון אחרת ידבר אל־העם הזה
for, with stammering lip and with foreign tongue he will speak to this people.

Very striking is the reworking of Pr 27:8 and Ps 31:12-13 in 12:9-10. The expression מקנה כצפור at 12:9-10 seems to be taken from Pr 27:8 and the next two lines are clear allusions to Ps 31:12-13.

12:9-10 כִּי־אֵי יִדְחֵנִי מֵאֶרֶצִי כַצְפּוֹר מִקְנֵה
וְכֹל רֵעִי וּמוֹדְעִי נִדְחוּ מִמֶּנִּי
וַיַּחֲשִׁבוּנִי לְכֵלִי אֹבֵד
for they have driven me away from my land like a bird from its nest,
and all my friends and acquaintances have been driven away from me
and they have regarded me as a broken vessel

Pr 27:8 כַּצְפּוֹר נוֹדֶדֶת מִן־קֶנֶה כֵּן־אִישׁ נוֹדֵד מִמְּקוֹמוֹ
Like a bird that strays from its nest is a man who strays from his home.

Ps 31:12-13 מְכַל־צָרָרִי הֵייתִי חֲרָפָה וּלְשֹׁכְנֵי מֶדֶן
וּפֶחַד לְמִידְעֵי רְאִי בַחוּץ נִדְדוּ מִמֶּנִּי
נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי כִּמְת מִלֵּב הֵייתִי כְּכֵלִי אֹבֵד
I am the scorn of all my adversaries, a horror to my neighbors, an object of
dread to my acquaintances; those who see me in the street flee from me.
I have passed out of mind like one who is dead;
I have become like a broken vessel.

A more remarkable use of Scripture can be found in 12:15-17, as depicted below:

12:15-17 שׁוֹרֵשׁ פּוֹרֵחַ רוֹשׁ וְלַעֲנָה בִּמְחַשְׁבוֹתָם
וְעַם שְׂרִירוֹת לִבָּם יִתּוּרוֹ וַיִּדְרְשׁוּכָה בְּגִלּוּלִים
וּמִכְשׁוֹל עֲוֹנָם שָׁמוּ לִנְגֹד פְּנֵיהֶם
וַיִּבְאוּ לְדֹרֶשְׁכָה מִפִּי נְבִיאֵי כֶזֶב מִפּוֹתֵי תַעֲוֹת
A root producing poison and wormwood is in their thoughts
and with stubbornness of their heart they search,
and they seek you among the idols,
and the stumbling-block of their iniquity they set before their faces
and they have come to the one who seek you from the mouth of lying
prophets, persuaded by error.

Dt 29:16-18 וַתִּרְאוּ אֶת־שְׁקוּצֵיהֶם וְאֵת גִּלְלֵיהֶם עֵץ וְאֶבֶן
כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב אֲשֶׁר עֲמָהֶם פְּנֵי־יְיָ בָכֶם
אִישׁ אִו־אִשָּׁה אוֹ מִשְׁפָּחָה אוֹ־שִׁבְטָא אֲשֶׁר לָבְנוּ פָנֶיהָ
הַיּוֹם מֵעַם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לֵלְכֵת לַעֲבֹד אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַגּוֹיִם הָהֵם
פְּנֵי־יְיָ בָכֶם שֹׁרֵשׁ פֶּרֶה רֹאשׁ וְלַעֲנָה
וְהָיָה בְּשִׁמְעוֹ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֹּאת וְהִתְבָּרַךְ בְּלִבָּבוֹ לֵאמֹר
שָׁלוֹם יִהְיֶה־לִּי כִּי בִשְׂרָרוֹת לִבִּי אֵלֶךְ לִמְעַן סָפוּת הָרוּה אֶת־הַצִּמְאָה
And you have seen their detestable things, their idols of wood and stone,
of silver and gold, which were among them. Beware, lest there be among
you a man or woman or family or tribe, whose heart turns away this day
from the LORD our God to go and serve the gods of those nations, lest
there be among you a root producing poison and wormwood, when he
hears the words of this sworn covenant, he blesses himself in his heart,
saying, "I shall be safe, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my
heart. This would lead to the sweeping away of moist and dry alike.

Ezk 14:7 כִּי אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמִהֶגֶר אֲשֶׁר־יִגּוֹר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
וַיִּנָּזֶר מֵאַחֲרַי וַיַּעַל גִּלּוּלֵי אֱלֹהֵי־לָבוֹ

ומכשול עונו ישים נכח פניו ובא אל־הנביא

לדרש־לו בי אני יהוה נענה־לו בי

For any one of the house of Israel, or of the strangers who sojourn in Israel, who separates himself from me, taking his idols into his heart and putting the stumbling block of his iniquity before his face, and yet comes to a prophet to inquire for himself of me, I the LORD will answer him myself.

12:15 is a clear citation from Dt 29:16-18 whose context is the renewal of the covenant, a passage which is often used in other Qumran documents (e.g., 1QS 2:12-14 and CD 3:11-12). In Ezk 14, God rebukes the idolatry of the elders. The chapter focuses on the theme of idolatry. Lexically and thematically, there are marked similarities between these two texts. The word גלולים “idols,” a favourite term in Ezekiel (38 occurrences), appears sparingly nine times outside of Ezekiel. Interestingly, one of these nine occurrences is found in Dt 29:16. This makes it even more likely that Ezk 14:7 and Dt 29:16-18 could be the sources of the text here.

3.4.3 Literary Affinity

12:6-13:6 shows a number of similarities with 13:7-21. Both hymns exhibit the stylistic use of אתה אל (12:13, 19; 13:13, 16, 20). The use of תורתכה is unique to these two hymns. The similar idea of placing God’s Torah into the author’s heart is found:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 12:11-12 | <u>להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות לעמכה</u>
to exchange your Torah, which you have repeatedly impressed in my heart,
for the smooth things to your people |
| 13:13-14 | <u>ותורתכה חבתה בני ע[ד] קץ הגלות ישעכה לי</u>
And your Torah you have hidden in [me until] the time when your
salvation is revealed to me. |

A significant correspondence between these two hymns is the use of the expression הגבירכה בי:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 12:9 | <u>ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי</u>
and they do not esteem me when you manifest your power through me |
| 12:24 | <u>לא יחשבוני ע[ד] הגבירכה בי</u>
they do not esteem [me e]ven as you manifest your power through me |
| 13:17 | <u>ולמען הגבירכה בי נגד בני אדם</u>
and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of
man |

In short, there are three cases of significant correspondence between 12:6-13:6 and 13:7-21: 1. the stylistic use of אתה אל; 2. תורתכה; 3. הגבירכה בי. These correspondences have one point in common, all emphasizing the author’s special relationship to God. This explains why the author can stand firm even in the midst of the fierce attack of his enemies.

3.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik Col. 5:5-19 (plate 39); SHR 190405

1QH 13:9-12 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. I: 1-3

1QH 13:17-20 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. II: 1-5

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 170-2

7 אורכה אדוני כי לא עזבתני בגורי³⁵ בעם] ולא [כאשמתי
 8 שפטתני ולא עזבתני בזמות יצרי³⁶ ותעזור משחת חיי ותתן [בתוך
 9 לביאים מועדים לבני אשמה אריות שוברי עצם אדירים ושותי דם] גבורים ותשמני
 10 במגור עם דיגים רבים פורשי מכמרת על פני מים וצידים לבני עולה ושם למשפט
 11 יסדתני וסוד אמת אמצתה בלבבי ומזה³⁷ ברית לדורשיה ותסגור פי כפירים אשר
 12 כחרב שניהם ומתלעותם כחנית חדה חמת תנינים כול מזמותם לחתוף וירבו³⁸ ולא

³⁵ There are two other possible meanings for the verb גור: “to stir up strife” or “to dread.” However, גור, followed by the preposition ב, is often taken in the sense of “to sojourn” in the Bible (e.g. Lev 20:2; Ezk 14:7; see also Clines 1995: 336). A few scholars have taken this as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness who was believed to have been persecuted by the Wicked Priest in the residence of his exile (1QpHab 11:4-7), see Wallenstein (1955: 279) and Jeremias (1963: 224).

³⁶ יצר is often found as referring to “created human being” in the *Hodayot* (e.g. 1QH 9:21, 11:24, 12:30, etc.). In late Jewish literature, the noun could denote “the evil inclination, worldly desires.” (cf. Jastrow 1926: 590). In Qumran corpus, it frequently appears in the context of human sinfulness (see Otzen 1975: 265; Murphy 1958b: 342). It is not unlikely that the author, attempting to convey the idea of evil inclination, might have deliberately employed the term זמה, which according to BDB, always carries a bad connotation. The preposition ב, as Mansoor suggests, may be taken as having a causative function.

³⁷ Sukenik’s transcription of מיה is very difficult. Wallenstein (1955: 280), assuming an Aramaic influence and the syncopation of the guttural, takes ומיה ברות as equivalent to בארות מי, and translates “water of wells.” Nowhere is באר used in the *Hodayot* (only in CD, e.g. 6:3). Burrows (1956: 408), Vermes (1995: 203) and Wise-Abegg-Cook (1996: 97) offer a similar translation, “water of the covenant.” Habermann (1960: 203) reads ומי, “and who?”, thereby taking it as a question. Similarly, Bardtke (1956b: 597) understands it as a question, “מה זה?”. Kittel (1981: 90) interprets it as a מן with a pronoun, “from it.” The majority of scholars see ומזה as a possible reading of the text (Delcor 1962: 157; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 47; Jeremias 1963: 219; Lohse 1971: 130; Maier 1960: 84; Mansoor 1961: 133; Martin 1958: 489; Mowinckel 1956: 266; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170). Comparing the second and third letters of this word with the first two letters of מזמותם in the following line seems to speak in favour of this reading. A question, however, does not fit the context well here. Most likely, the word means “from this.” It still leaves us with the difficulty of determining what “this” is referring to!

³⁸ וירבו can be derived from one of the following verbs: a) רבה; b) ארב; c) ריב. A few of the early translators take the first interpretation (Bardtke 1956b: 597; Burrows 1956: 408; Habermann 1960: 203; Wallenstein 1955: 281) while the majority opt for the second one (Carmignac 1961: 142; Declor 1962: 158; DeVries 1964-66: 400; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 215; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 171; Gaster 1957: 151; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 91, 94-5 n. 21; Jeremias 1963: 219; Lohse 1971: 131; Maier 1960: 84; Mansoor 1961: 133; Vermes 1995: 204). Kittel (1981: 91) is the only one who has put forward the third interpretation. It is to be noted that ריב is frequently employed for verbal combat in the Bible. The occurrence of this single sentence is odd enough. Even worse, this is the only occurrence in the *Hodayot*, which leaves us without any comparison. Suffice it to say that the last two interpretations fit the context well.

13 פצו עלי פיהם כי אתה אלי סתרתני נגד בני אדם ותורתכה חבתה בני ע[ד] קין
 14 חגלות ישעכה לי כי בצרת נפשי לא עזבתני ושוועתי שמעתה במרורי נפשי
 15 ודנת³⁹ יגוני חכרתה באנחתי ותצל נפש עני במעון אריות אשר שגנו כחרב לשונם
 16 ואתה אלי סגרתה בעד שניהם פן יטרפו נפש עני ורש ותוסף לשונם
 17 כחרב אל תערה בלין תה נפש עבדכה ולמען הגבירכה ^כ לנגד בני אדם הפלתה
 18 באביון ותביאהו במצ[ו]ר[ך] בזהב במעשי אש וככסף מזוקק בכור נופחים לטהר שבעתים
 19 וימהרו עלי רשעי ע[מ]ים⁴⁰ במצוקותם וכול היום ידכאו נפשי
 20 ואתה אלי תשיב {נפשי}⁴¹ סערה לדממה ונפש אביון פלטתה כן [טרף מכח
 21 אריות

7. I give you thanks, O Lord,
for you did not abandon me when I sojourned among a people [
8. [and not] according to my guilt (8) did you judge me,
and you did not abandon me to the plans of my inclination,
but you have protected my life from the pit,
9. And you placed [] among (9) lions appointed for the sons of guilt.
Lions that break the bone of majestic ones,
and drink the bl[ood] of the mighty.
10. And you set me (10) in a dwelling with many fishermen,
those who spread a net on the face of the waters,
and hunters for the sons of injustice.
11. And there for judgement (11) have you established me,
and a counsel of truth have you confirmed in my heart,
and from this (?) a covenant for those who seek it.
And you shut the mouth of the young lions
12. whose teeth are like a sword,
and whose fangs are like a sharp spear,
the venom of vipers is all their plan to seize.
And they lie in wait,

³⁹ Most scholars interpret דנת as a second person singular perfect derived from דין (Bardtke 1956b: 597; Maier 1960: 85; Mansoor 1961: 133; Delcor 1962: 159; Jeremias 1963: 219-20; see also Burrows 1956: 408; Lohse 1971: 131). It is worth noting that generally all verbs in the second perfect (without suffix) have the longer ending, תה. This does not rule out the possibility that we have an exception here, which would be the only one in this hymn. Another problem is that ו immediately followed by a second person perfect is a rare phenomenon in the *Hodayot* (see Montaner 1992: 280-1). Finally, two verbs intervened by a single noun breaks the parallelism. Alternatively, it seems possible to take דנת as a construct noun here. This interpretation is not without difficulty. What does דנת as a noun mean? Wallenstein (1955: 281) resorts to a word of Aramaic origin, meaning of which is “jar,” and he renders, “the cup of my affliction.” In resolving this problem, some scholars read a ר rather than a ד (DeVries 1964-66: 400; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 215; Carmignac 1961: 143; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 95). The facsimile, however, clearly shows a ד instead. This can be verified by comparing the top part of this letter with that of the other ר in this hymn. The problem remains unresolved. It is likely that this noun is somehow related to the verb דין, meaning “to judge, mete out justice, plead the cause, contend.” Kittel (1981: 92) suggested that דנת might be related to the noun מרון, “strife, contention” (see also Vermes 1995: 204; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 170-71). This seems to be the best solution offered so far. Furthermore, חכרתה can be derived from either נכר or כרת. The verb נכר, which sometimes carries the nuance of regarding someone with favor, gives a better parallel to the preceding lines.

⁴⁰ Sukenik suggested ז for the second letter in his transcription; however, this restoration is taken from 4Q429 frg col 2.

⁴¹ נפשי has been erased from the text.

13. but they did not open their mouth against me.
For you, my God, concealed me before the sons of man,
and your Torah you have hidden in [me]
14. [un]til the time (14) when your salvation is revealed to me.
For in the distress of my soul you did not abandon me,
and my cry you heard in the bitterness of my soul
15. and the contention of my sorrow you regarded in my groaning.

And you saved the soul of the afflicted in the den of lions,
which sharpened their tongue like a sword.
16. And you, my God, shut their teeth,
lest they tear apart the soul of the afflicted and the destitute,
17. and their tongue has been drawn back (17) like a sword to its sheath
bly[t]h the soul of your servant,
And that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man.
18. You have dealt wondrously (18) with the poor,
and you put him into the cru[cible like gold] in the works of fire,
and like silver refined in the furnace of the smith,
to be purified seven times.
19. And the wicked of the peo[pl]es rush against me with their afflictions,
and all the day they crush my soul. *vacat*
20. But you, my God, turn a tempest to stillness,
and the soul of the poor you have delivered *k[]*
21. prey from the power of (21) lions.

3.5.2 Structure and Content

This hymn begins with the standard introductory formula, **אֲדַרְכָּה אֲדֹנִי**, which is slightly indented from the right-hand margin. A few scholars believe that the hymn ends with the phrase **בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה**, which appears in the interlinear space between lines 21 and 22. The “blessing,” as Mowinckel suggests, is the finale of the hymn, echoing the introductory words of thanks.⁴² In fact, **בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֲדֹנִי** is another introductory formula employed in the *Hodayot* (e.g. 18:14). A close look at the facsimile points to a correction made by another scribe.⁴³ The first word in line 22, **אֲדַרְכָּה**, is singled out for deletion, by means of dots marked above and below it, and with the phrase **בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה** written above it. Hence **אֲדַרְכָּה** should be the final word of the hymn, appearing in line 21 with the rest of the line blank.

This hymn, though having only fifteen lines, is replete with poetic imagery. No one could possibly miss the frequent occurrence of the word “lions” in this hymn. The lion motif pervades throughout the entire hymn; no wonder Licht gives “מִפִּי”

⁴² Mowinckel (1956: 268), see also Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 195).

⁴³ The script of **בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה** is obviously different from those appeared in this column. In fact, three scribal hands can be discerned in the *Hodayot* (e.g. comparing their **ל** from lines 20 to 30 in column 19). For a detailed discussion on the script of the *Hodayot*, see Avigad (1958: 75-77), Birnbaum (1952: 94-103), Martin (1958: 59-64).

אֲרִיָּה” as a title for the hymn.⁴⁴ All other images, for example, fishers and hunters, make only one appearance, and are obviously subordinated to the lion imagery by which the entire hymn is unified. All these images are unique to this hymn and do not appear again in the rest of the *Hodayot*.

- A. 7-8c: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
- B. 8d-19: Main section in which God’s gracious dealings towards the author and the poor are described. The section consists of two paragraphs: the first paragraph, 8d-15a, opens with וְתִתֶּן and focuses on the relationship of God with the author while the second, 15b-19, begins with וְתַצֵּל and describes the relationship of God with the poor.
- C. 20-21: The conclusion opens with וְאַתָּה אֱלֹהִים and makes a declaration of divine deliverance.

In the opening lines of the hymn, the author states his reasons for thanksgiving. He offers thanks to God not for his saving acts, but for his faithfulness. In so doing, he has placed the emphasis not so much on divine deliverance as on divine presence. It is only in the last line of the introduction that divine deliverance is slightly touched upon. Perhaps, this line refers to the author’s preservation from the lions subsequently described, providing a thematic link to the sections that follow.

The main section starts with a second person imperfect verb וְתִתֶּן, followed by three participles. Here the roaring lions make their first appearance. The first participle gives their purpose while the next two, which are in construct form, describe their destructive actions. The lions are the instruments of God for punishing the wicked. Next come the fishers and hunters. It is almost certain that these fishers and hunters, whose images are borrowed from Jeremiah 16:16, are the divine agents of punishment. God, though placing the author among the lions and the hunters, has ordained him to pass judgement upon the wicked. The section moves on to describe the author’s rescue from the ferocious lions. Although the lions are cruel and merciless, they are unable to harm the author because God has shut their mouth. With the expression כִּי אַתָּה אֱלֹהִים (13:13), the author declares the reason for his immunity to outside attack. He describes his close relationship with God and how God did not abandon him even in his distress. Towards the end of the section, the salvific action of God is emphasized. The next paragraph, 15b-19, draws our attention to the wondrous acts of God on behalf of the poor and needy, a theme which carries on till the end of the hymn. Perhaps the author is one of the poor and needy! This paragraph mentions how God manifests his power through the author before the sons of men (לְבָנֵי אָדָם, 13:17) making an echo to the previous

⁴⁴ Licht (1957: 99).

paragraph, where God has concealed the author before the sons of men (נגר בני אדם, 13:13). The depiction of silver and gold refinement is given in the next few lines. The thought shifts to reflection on the purpose of the tribulation of the poor. It is for the sake of purification that the poor suffer.

The final section opens with a vocative address, אתה אלי, with the exception that an imperfect, rather than a perfect, is used here. It is quite likely that this imperfect expresses a durative action. In the midst of danger and suffering, the author feels sure that God does, and will, turn the storm to a calm. His final note of assurance rounds off the thanksgiving. The final phrase מכח אריות recapitulates the theme of the ferocious lion and thus ties the hymn together.

The lion imagery, which unifies the hymn, stands out and draws our attention to the story of Daniel. Some scholars have put forward this story as a background to this hymn.⁴⁵ Patte goes as far as to suggest that the hymn is “structured on Dan 6:17-24 (used in lines, 7, 9, 11, 13-14, 19). This basic biblical passage is combined and interpreted by means of many other biblical passages in a manner similar to that which we found in 1QH 3:6-18 [= 11:7-19]. This time the typology identifies the author with Daniel and his enemies with the lions.”⁴⁶ Sadly, he does not go into detail how the text of Daniel is related to and interpreted by other biblical texts. The major problem is that the account of Daniel in the den of lions is recorded in Aramaic. Therefore, it is almost, if not completely, impossible to carry out a lexical comparison of that account to other biblical texts.

On the one hand, this hymn is in some ways similar to the story of Daniel. Daniel is in exile, dwelling among foreign people. So is the author of this hymn.⁴⁷ Of special importance is the reference to the lions in these two texts. Both texts also mention that God has shut the mouths of the lions. Both the psalmist and Daniel have been rescued from the power of the lions. As a result, God has manifested his might through them before the sons of men. On the other hand, there are a few dissimilarities between the two accounts. Daniel claims that the lions cannot hurt him because he is found innocent in God’s sight. The psalmist never attributes his rescue to his innocence; in fact, he from the outset mentions his own guilt. Daniel does not feel being abandoned by God nor show any distress while the psalmist does

⁴⁵ E.g., Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 97), Kittel (1981: 80, 96).

⁴⁶ Patte (1975: 266). What he meant by “the structural use of scripture” is that “the hymn expositis this (these) passage(s) with the help of other biblical passages or phrases which are tallied to it (or them). Here Scripture is at the center of the hymn. The process of ‘uncovering’ revelation is still present, although the focus is already on its result.” (Patte 1975: 264)

⁴⁷ Although it is uncertain whether the author dwells among “foreign” people, the verb נגר does indicate that he is away from his homeland.

in this hymn. Therefore, it is inconclusive as to whether there is a structural use of Dan. 6:17-24 in this hymn.⁴⁸

This hymn makes extensive allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures. 13:9-11 is a good case in point. It draws on the language of Hab 1:12, 14-15, Isa 19:8, and Jer 16:16, as shown below:

- 13:9-11 ותשמני במגור עם דיגים רבים
פורשי מכמרת על פני מים
וצידים לבני עולה
ושם למשפט יסדתני
 And you set me in a dwelling with many fishermen,
 those who spread a net on the face of the waters,
 and hunters for the sons of injustice.
 And there for judgement have you established me.
- Hab 1:12 הלוא אתה מקדם יהוה אלהי קדשי לא נמות
יהוה למשפט שמתו וצור להוכיח יסדתו
 Are you not from of old, O LORD my God, my Holy One? You shall not
 die. O LORD, you have ordained them for judgment; and you, O Rock,
 have established them for chastisement.
- Hab 1:14-15 ותעשה אדם כדגי הים כרמש לא־משל בו
כלה בחכה העלה יגרהו בחרמו
ויאספיהו במכמרתו על־כן ישמח ויגיל
 You have made people like the fish of the sea, like crawling things that
 have no ruler. He brings all of them up with a hook; he drags them out
 with his net, he gathers them in his seine; so he rejoices and exults.
- Isa 19:8 ואנו הדיגים ואבלו כל־משליכי ביאור חכה
ופרשי מכמרת על־פני־מים אמללו
 The fishermen will mourn and lament, all who cast hook in the Nile, and
 those who spread nets on the water will languish.
- Jer 16:16 הנני שלח לדוגים רבים נאס־יהוה ודיגים
ואחרי־כן אשלח לרבים צידים וצדום מעל כל־הר
ומעל כל־גבעה ומנקיקי הסלעים
 Behold, I am sending for many fishermen, says the LORD, and they shall
 catch them; and afterward I will send for many hunters, and they shall
 hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the
 rocks.

The Isaiah passage describes the judgement of God on Egypt. In Jer 16:16, God announces his judgement that he would send many fishermen and hunters to punish Israelites. God sends the Israelites into exile not because He has forsaken them but because they have forsaken him and have not kept his law (cf. 16:11). In a related vein, the Habakkuk passage is about God's judgement on the Israelites. The judgement motif is used in all three passages. The fishing imagery is found in these passages as well. This makes the use of Scripture in 13:9-11 all the more striking.

⁴⁸ Of course, the dissimilarity between the two accounts cannot speak against this claim. The author of the hymn might have used the story of Daniel in a new and transformed way!

Another example can be found in 13:17d-18, which may be taken from Ps 12:6-7, Pr 17:3, and Mal 3:2-3:

- 13:17d-18 הפלתה באביון
ותביאחו במצר[ך] כזה[ך] במעשי אש
ובכסף מזוקק בכור נופחים לטהר שבעתים
 You have dealt wondrously with the poor,
 and you put him into the cru[cible like gold] in the works of fire,
 and like silver refined in the furnace of the smith.
- Ps 12:6-7 משר עניים מאנקת אביונים עתה אקום
יאמר יהוה אשית בישע יפחי לו
אמרות יהוה אמרות טהרות כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ מזקק שבעתים
 “Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up,” says the LORD; “I will place them in the safety for which he longs.”
 The promises of the LORD are promises that are pure, silver refined in a furnace on the ground, purified seven times.
- Pr 17:3 מצרף לכסף וכור לזהב ובחן לבות יהוה
 The crucible is for silver, and the furnace is for gold,
 but the LORD tests the heart.
- Mal 3:2-3 ומי מכלכל את-יום בואו ומי העמד בהראותו
כי-הוא כאש מצרף וכברית מכבסים
וישב מצרף ומטהר כסף וטהר את-בני-לוי
וזקק אתם כזהב וככסף
והיו ליהוה מגישי מנחה בצדקה
 But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fullers' soap;
 he will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he will purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, until they present offerings to the LORD in righteousness.

3.5.3 Literary Affinity

This hymn shows a number of lexical similarities with 10:33-41. Both hymns employ the stylistic use of אתה אל (10:36; 13:13, 16, 20). Besides, they use the same set of words for the poor and needy: עני, רש, אביון. These terms appear all in the context where the gracious dealings of God towards the poor are emphasized.

- 13:18 הפלתה באביון
 you have dealt wondrously with the poor
- 13:20 ונפש אביון פלטתה
 and the soul of the poor you have delivered
- 10:34 פדית[ה] נפש אביון
 you have ransomed the soul of the poor
- 13:16 פן יטרפו נפש עני ורש
 lest they tear apart the soul of the afflicted and the destitute
- 10:36 עזרתה נפש עני ורש
 you have helped the soul of the afflicted and the destitute

Although אביון, רש and עני are biblical terms and occur frequently in the Bible (e.g. Dt 15:11, Prv 31:9, Ps 82:3), their use with the term נפש, such as נפש אביון and נפש עני ורש, is found in these two hymns and not attested in the Bible nor in other DSS. Another word distinctive to these hymns is אדירים:

10:37 ותפד נפשי מיד אדירים
and you have ransomed my soul from the hand of majestic ones

13:9 אריות שוברי עצם אדירים
Lions that break the bone of majestic ones

In common with 10:22-32 and 12:6-13:6, this hymn uses the phrase הגבירכה בי to describe the relationship the author has with God. Surprisingly, the almost exact clause is found in 13:17 and 10:26-7:

13:17 ולמען הגבירכה בי לנגד בני אדם
and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man

10:26-7 והגבירכה בי נגד בני אדם
and that you might manifest your power through me before the sons of man

In addition to the use of the verb with first person singular suffix (13:7, 8x2, 9), this hymn makes use of נפשי in referring to the author himself (ll. 14, 14, 19), a feature quite characteristic of 10:22-32. In short, all these parallels tie the hymn closely to the other four hymns of Group 1.

3.6 Conclusion

The hymns of Group I have a number of shared lexical and syntactic features. 10:1-21 and 10:33-41 have much in common with 12:6-13:6 while 13:7-21 and 10:22-32 share some lexical units with 10:33-41 and 10:1-21, respectively. All of them have one major point in common, that is, their descriptions of the opponents of the author. Of special importance are the common designations and expressions this group of hymns have employed in reference to the author's enemies. The hymns are filled with biblical terminology. The enemies are characterised as עריצים "ruthless men", אדירים "majestic ones", בוגדים "traitors", מליצי כזב "interpreters of falsehood", מליצי תעות "interpreters of errors", דורשי חלקות "those who seek smooth things", חוזי רמיה "seers of deceit", etc. They are further portrayed as those having exchanged (מור) the truth for folly (הולל) and smooth things (חלקות); as a result, they have stumbled in errors. More importantly, the affinity among these hymns lies not just in single words but in significant expressions. All the linguistic features shared by the hymns of Group I are summarised in the following table.

<i>Common Lexical Items</i>	10:1-21	10:22-32	10:33-41	12:6-13:6	13:7-21
Verb + first person singular suffix	11, 15		33, 35	9, 10	7, 8, 9
מליין + pejorative noun	16		33	8, 10	
רמיה	18		36	8, 11	
מור	20		38	11	
מסס + לבב / לב	8	30		34	
Plots of בליעל	18	24		11, 14x2	
הגבירכה בי		26		9, 24	17
אתה אל			36	13, 19	13, 16, 20
גליהם + infinitive + ב	14	30			
קול + המון מים רבים	18	29			
עריצים	13	23			
תעות	16			13, 17, 21	
לבט + בינה + לא	21			8	
לשון אחרת	21			17	
ברזי פלא	15			28-29	
המה + pejorative noun		24		10-11, 14	
כי מאתכה/ מצערי		25	35		
חלקות	(17)		34	11	
חרפה	11		36		
תורתכה				11	13
כזב			33	11, 17	
הולל			38	9, 21	
נפש עני ורש			36		16
נפש אביון			34		20
אדירים			37		9

With the exception of 10:33-41, the hymns of Group 1 make extensive use of Scripture. The biblical phrases appear to have been woven into the very texture of the composition. Although there are not many clear biblical citations, echoes of biblical phrases and motifs can be discerned. Drawing on the language of the Hebrew Scriptures, the hymns weave together various strands of topic in a new unity. In a few cases they combine a number of biblical texts which are thematically or lexically related.

In conclusion, these five hymns have many features in common. They focus primarily on the negative relationship of the author to his enemies and describe how God has graciously dealt with the author and delivered him from the threats posed by the enemies. In these hymns the self confidence of the author before God stands out in relation to the glaring errors of the enemies. Furthermore, numerous designations have been used to refer to the author's adversaries. It is in these designations that one can discern the common lexical items among this group of hymns. In stark contrast to the second group, these hymns are not replete with strong images, with the exception of 13:7-21 where the lion imagery is employed to portray the fierce

attack of the enemies. These five hymns are closely tied to one another as they all describe the author's enemies in many ways that are distinctive to them. Their similar use of Scripture and their many linguistic and thematic similarities would suggest that literary dependence to a large extent exists among these hymns or they might have been the work of the same author.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUFFERING AND VICTORIOUS “I” OF IQH 10-17:36

This group of hymns is quite different from Group I in terms of vocabulary, style and content. The lexical items these hymns have in common no longer refer to the author’s enemies. Their contents are fraught with strong images and eschatological representation of the defeat of the power of evil in the battle of God. With the exception of 15:9-28 and the two fragmentary hymns 11:38-12:5 and 15:37-16:4, each of the hymns of Group II contains at least one section where the author expresses his distress and describes his suffering. Among the hymns in this group, 13:22-15:8 stands out as the one having the largest number of shared lexical units with the other six hymns. 11:1-19 is one of the hymns that shows a number of notable similarities to 13:22-15:8, and to this we now turn.

4.1 IQH 11:1-19

4.1.1. Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 3:1-18 (plate 37); SHR 190403

IQH 11:12-13 = 4Q428 frg. 2:1-2

IQH 11:14-19 = 4Q432 frg. 4 col. I:1-7

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 164

	[1
	[2
	[3
[לי האירותה פני ]	] 4
[לכה בכבוד עולם עם כול ]	] 5
[פיכה ותצילני מ ]	] 6
[יחשיבוני וישימו נפשני] ¹ כאוניה ב[מ]צולות [ים]	] 7
8 וכעיר מבצר מ[לפני] אחיה בצוקה כמו אשת לדה מבכירה ² כיא נהפכו ציר[יה]	
9 וחבל נמרץ על משבריה להחיל בכור ³ הריה כיא באו בנים עד משברי מות	

¹ Sukenik transcribed כ but the photographic plate clearly shows a ב.

² The scribe copied מבכירה. Most scholars have taken this as a scribal error for מבכירה, on the basis of Jer 4:31 (Bardtke 1956b: 592; Baumgarten and Mansoor 1955: 189; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 53 n. 10; Licht 1957: 79; Lohse 1971: 120; Silberman 1956: 97; Douglas 1998: 172).

³ There are two possible meanings for the word בכור. It can be derived from the root בכר, meaning “first-born.” It can also be taken as ב + כור, literally “in the furnace.” Chamberlain (1955a:

10 והרית גבר הצרה בחבליה כִּיא במשברי⁴ מות תמליט זכר ובחבלי שאול יגיה
 11 מכור הריה פלא יועץ עם גבורתו ויפלט גבר ממשברים בהריתו החישו כול
 12 משברים וחבלי מרץ במולדיהם ופלצות להורותם ובמולדיו יהפכו כול צירים
 13 בכור הריה והרית אפעה לחבל נמרץ ומשברי שחת לכול מעשי פלצות וירועו
 14 אושי קיר כאוניה על פני מים ויהמו שחקים בקול המון ויושבי עפר
 15 כיורדי ימים נבעתים מהמון מים וחכמיהם⁵ למו כמלחים במצולות כי תתבלע
 16 כול חכמתם בהמות ימים כרתוח תחומות על נבוכי מים [ויתרג]שו לרום גלים
 17 ומשברי מים בהמון קולם ובהתרגשם יפתחו שן
 18 עם מצעדם לתהום ישמיעו קולם ויפתחו שערי [שאול] [מעשי אפעה
 19 ויסגרו דלתי שחת בעד הרית עול ובריחי עולם בעד כול רוחי אפעה

1.]
2.]
3.]
4. []/y you have enlightened my face []
5. [] to you, with eternal glory together with all []
6. [] your mouth and you have delivered me m[] and m[]
7. [] Now, [my] soul [] they have esteemed me
and they have made [my] soul like a ship in the [dep]ths of the [sea],
8. and like a fortified city be[fore]
I have been in distress, like a woman in labour giving birth to her firstborn,
9. for [her] pangs (9) and grievous pain come upon the mouth of her womb
to bring anguish in the womb of her that is pregnant,
for children have come to the waves of death
10. and she that is pregnant with the man suffers anguish in her pangs,
for in the waves of death she gives birth to a male,
and in the pangs of Sheol there bursts forth
11. from the womb of her that is pregnant a wonderful counsellor with his might,
and the man is delivered from the waves.
12. At his conception all wombs feel pain⁶ (12) and grievous pains at their birth
and terror to those conceiving them,
13. and at his birth all pangs come suddenly (13) in the womb of her that is pregnant
and she that is pregnant with a viper (is destined) for grievous pain,
and the waves of the pit for all the works of terror.
14. And the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound
15. and those who dwell on the dust are (15) like those going down to the seas,
terrified by the roar of the waters;

35) and Silberman (1956: 101-3) prefer the former interpretation. Some scholars accept the latter one, taking it as a metaphor for “womb” on the basis of the form כִּורָא in the Rabbinic literature (cf. Jastrow 1926: 625; see Baumgarten and Mansoor 1955: 190; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 54-55; Knibb 1988: 175; Williams 1991: 164).

⁴ משבר, literally “place of breach,” could be used to refer to the mouth of the womb (cf. Isa 37:3). The plural could also have the meaning “breakers, waves” (cf. 2 Sam 22:5). It would appear that there is a play on the double meaning of משברים in the hymn.

⁵ Sukenik transcribed כו above the space between ה and ל, but looking carefully at the scribal correction would suggest a final ם instead (see Carmignac 1961: 196; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 38; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 164; Lohse 1971: 120).

⁶ According to BDB, הָרַשׁ means “hasten, come quickly” but in the Rabbinic literature it could have the meaning “feel pain” (Jastrow 1926: 441), which fits the context better here.

- and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps,
 16. for swallowed up is (16) all their wisdom in the roaring of the seas,
 when the deeps boil over the springs of the waters
 [and] they [rush forth] to lift up waves
 17. and breakers of waters with the roaring of their noise,
 and when they rush forth, they open [] the arrows of the pit,
 18. with their steps, to the deep they make their voice heard,
 and the gates of [Sheol] open [] the works of the viper,
 19. and the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice,
 and the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.

4.1.2 Structure and Content

While this hymn clearly ends at 11:19, one cannot discern at all where the hymn begins because the first few lines of column 11 are strongly mutilated. It is probable that 11:1ff is the continuation of 10:33-41, where the divine deliverance of the author from the interpreters of falsehood is described. However, columns 10 and 11 are quite different both in style and in their use of vocabulary.⁷ There is also a possibility that a new hymn begins in one of the first five lines of column 11.⁸

This hymn is perhaps the most difficult one of all preserved Qumran hymns. The use of strong images throughout the hymn makes it difficult to understand the intention of the author. Besides, there is no clear structural marker seen in the hymn. One has to resort to theme development and the use of repeated words and phrases in order to discern the structure of the hymn.

- A. 1(?)–6: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
- B. 7–13d: Description of distress in which the author compares his suffering to a ship in the stormy sea (7), to a fortified city (8a) as well as to a woman in travail (8b–13d).
- C. 13e–19: An extended metaphor of the ship in the stormy sea.

Section 7–13d opens with the metaphors of a ship and a fortified city, followed by an extensive image of the birth pangs. Worth noting is the frequent use of various theme words in describing the woman giving birth: חבל (ll. 9, 10x2, 12, 13), חריה

⁷ Morawe (1961: 113–14), Schulz (1974: 12–14).

⁸ Douglas (1998: 172) and Tanzer (1986: 72), in agreement with Stegemann's reconstruction, restore the beginning of the hymn on line 5, and suggest to read *אורכה אדוני כיא אמת פיכה*. This is on the basis that the preceding and following hymns (10:33–34 and 11:20–21) begin with a verb of deliverance + double *mem* phrases. This is plausible but the restoration, *פיכה* [כיא אמת], is not without problem. The first weakness of this reconstruction is that this phrase is based on its occurrence in 19:3–14, a "Community Hymn," in which it says *ואני ידעתי כי אמת פיכה* (19:7). More importantly, the opening thanksgiving formula without a perfect verb is not attested elsewhere in the *Hodayot*. These make the present writer hesitant to follow Stegemann's reconstruction. Probable is the suggestion of Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 52) who comments that the introductory formula might have lost just before *האירותה פני* in the beginning of line 4 because the same expression appears in the introductory line of 12:6–13:6.

(ll. 9, 10, 11x2, 13x2), כור (ll. 9, 11, 13), ציר (ll. 8, 12), משבר (ll. 9x2, 10, 11, 12, 13). The phrase פלא יועץ, often taken as an allusion to the Messianic title in Isa 9:5, is unique to this hymn.⁹ If it is correct to interpret 11:11 as the birth of the messiah, it appears that the author here attempts to make sense of his own sufferings by associating them with those of the messianic birth that would inaugurate the new age.¹⁰ The birth imagery draws heavily on the language of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In addition to the use of Isa 9:5 in 11:8, the expression כמו אשת לדה מבכריה “like a woman in labour giving birth to her firstborn” is likely to be taken from Jer 13:21, where it says, כמו אשת לדה יאחזוך חלוא “Will not pangs seize you, like those of a woman in labour?” A remarkable use of Scripture is found in 11:9, where the author says, כיא באו בנים עד משברי מות “for children have come to the waves of death.” The same statement, כיא באו בנים עד משבר, is found in Isa 37:3 (or 2 Kgs 19:3).

The final section begins with כאוניה קיר וירועו אושי “and the foundations of the wall shake like a ship” and strategically recalls the statement כאוניה נפשי “they have made my soul like a ship” in the opening lines of the previous section (11:7). No longer is the author referred to as the one in the deeps (11:7, במצולות). Instead, it is the city dwellers, and in particular, their wise men, who are like sailors in the deeps (11:15, במצולות). The distress seems to have fallen upon those pregnant with injustice. The ship imagery appears to be an allusion to Ps 107. The expression תתבלע כול חכמתם “swallowed up is all their wisdom” in 11:15c-16a is likely to be taken from Ps 107:27 where the same idea is found, וכל חכמתם תתבלע. In this section, a completely different set of vocabulary is introduced: מים (ll. 14, 15, 16x2, 17), קול (ll. 14, 16, 17), המון (ll. 14, 15, 17). The section ends with a number of key words echoing the last line of the previous section, thereby binding the hymn together:

⁹ There have been much debate as to whether a Messianic interpretation could be applied to this hymn. Chamberlain (1955a: 32-41), Dupont-Sommer (1957: 174-88) and Licht (1957: 76) interpret this passage as a picture of a messianic birth. Silberman (1956: 96-106), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 61-4), Hinson (1960: 183-203) reject this Messianic interpretation and take it as an extended simile for the distress and suffering of the author. Burrows (1958: 317-321), Baumgarten and Mansoor (1955: 188-95), do not espouse the Messianic interpretation nor consider it to be impossible. While taking it messianically, Betz (1956-57: 314-26) and Schulz (1974: 161-66) interpret the mother as the author and the “wonderful counsellor” as the community. Douglas (1998: 177-8) follows this line of interpretation but believes that the “wonderful counsellor” need not be interpreted collectively. The “wonderful counsellor” may as well stand for an individual messianic figure coming out of the remnant community. It is almost certain that the expression פלא יועץ עם גבורתו “a wonderful counsellor with his might” is an allusion to Isa 9:5. One cannot avoid but think that it carries an overtone of a messianic birth. Nevertheless, one must be cautious about drawing every details from the hymn and attributing them to any historical figures.

¹⁰ Cf. Knibb (1988: 174-5), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 61-4).

- 11:19 ויסגרו דלתי שחת בעד חרית עול
ובריחי עולם בעד כול רוחי אפעה
And the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice
and the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.
- 11:13 וחרית אפעה לחבל נמרץ ומשברי שחת לכול מעשי פלצות
And she that is pregnant with a viper (is destined) to grievous pain,
and the waves of the pit for all the works of terror.

4.1.3 Literary Affinity

The close affinity between 11:1-19 and 13:22-15:6 is quite notable. Lexically, these two hymns share 9 lexical items unique to them in the *Hodayot*: חוש, אניה, מלח, עיר, מבצר, ציר, שער, בריח, דלת. It should be mentioned that 8 out of 9 lexical items come from column 14.

- 11:11-12 בהריתו החישו כול משברים
At his conception all wombs *feel pain*
- 14:32 ואז תחיש חרב אל בקץ משפט
Then the sword of God *shall hasten* at the time of judgement
- 11:7 וישימו נפש כאוניה ב[מ]צולות [ים]
And they have made (my) soul like a ship in the [dep]ths of the [sea]
- 11:13-14 וירועו אושי קיר כאוניה על פני מים
And the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters
- 11:15 וחכמיהם למו במלחים במצולות
and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps
- 14:25-26 [והיי]תי כמלח באוניה בזעף ימים
[And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas
- 15:7 ותכמי עלו כאוניה בזעף חרישית
and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of the storm
- 11:8 וכעיר מבצר ...
and like a fortified city
- 14:27-28 ואהיה כבא בעיר מצור
And I am as one who enters a fortified city
- 14:38 ומעביר שוט שוטף כל יבוא במבצר
and he who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress
- 11:12-13 ובמולדיו יהפכו כול צירים בכור חרית
and at his birth all pangs come suddenly in the womb of her that is pregnant
- 13:32-33 וחבלים כצירי יולדה
and pains like the pangs of one giving birth
- 11:18 ויפתחו שערי [שאול]
and the gates of [Sheol] open
- 14:27 ו[נפשי תגיע] עד שערי מות
and [my soul comes near] to the gates of death
- 14:34 ושערי עולם להוציא כלי מלחמות
and the gates of eternity to bring out the weapons of war

- 11:19 ויסגרו דלתִי שחת בעד הרית עול
 ובריחי עולם בעד כול רוחי אפעה
 and the doors of the pit close behind her that is pregnant with injustice, and
 the bars of eternity behind all the spirits of the viper.
- 14:30-31 דלתי מגן לאין מבוא ובריחי עוז ללוא ישוברו
 armoured doors which have no entrance
 and strong bolts which cannot be broken

All the images of 11:1-19 can be found in 13:22-15:8. In these two hymns, the author compares himself to a ship in a stormy sea. Although *אניה* and *מלח* are biblical terms, they are rarely used as a metaphor for the author's distress in the Bible. Another close correspondence between these two hymns is the image of birth pang. As shown above, *ציר* occurs in 11:12 (possibly 11:8) and 13:32 and they are the only two places where it is used in the DSS corpus. *חבל* occurs 8 times in the *Hodayot* and is unattested outside columns 10-17. There are five occurrences of the word in this hymn (ll. 9, 10x2, 12, 13). For example, its use in the sense of birth pang appears in 11:10, where it says, *והרית גבר הצרה בחבליה*, "and she that is pregnant with the man suffers anguish in her pangs". A similar use of this word is found in 13:32-33, *וחבלים כצירי יולדה*, "and pains like the pangs of one giving birth". Worth noting is that all these images are distinctive to 11:1-19 and 13:22-15:8. Such close correspondences make their affinities all the more striking.

4.2 IQH 11:20-37

4.2.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 3:19-36; SHR 10403

IQH 11:28-33 = 4Q428 frg. 3:1-7

IQH 11:27-31 = 4Q432 frg. 4:1-6

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 164-6

- אודכה אדוני כי פדיתה נפשי משחת ומשאול אבדון 20
 העליתני לרום עולם ואתהלכה במישור לאין חקר ואדעה כיא יש מקוה לאשר 21
 יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם ורוח נעוה טהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב במעמד עם 22
 צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות 23
 דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רננה ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה ואני יצר 24
 החמר מה אני מגבל במים ולמי נחשבתי ומה כוח לי כיא התיצבתי בגבול רשעה 25
 ועם חלכאים בגורל ותגור נפש אביון עם מהומות רבה ודוות מדהבה¹¹ עם מצעדי 26
 בהפתח כל פחי שחת ויפרשו כול מצודות רשעה ומכמרת חלכאים על פני מים 27
 בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין השב ויפרו לאין תקוה בגפול קו על משפט וגורל אף 28

¹¹ מדהבה, occurring again in IQH 20:18, is found only in Isa 14:4, where it is often emended to מרהבה, derived from רהב (see also IQ Isa^a 14:4).

29 על נעזבים ומתך חמה על נעלמים וקץ חרון לכול¹² בליעל וחבלי מות אפפו לאין פלט
 30 וילכו נחלי בליעל על כול אנפי רום כאש אוכלת בכול שנאביהם¹³ לחתם כול עץ לח
 31 ויבש מפליהם ותשוט בשביבי לחוב עד אפס כול שותיהם באושי חמר תאוכל
 32 וברקוע יבשה יסודי הרים לשרפה ושורשי חלימי לנחלי זפת ותאוכל עד תהום
 33 רבה ויבקעו לאבדון נחלי בליעל ויהמו מחשבי תהום בהמון גורשי רכש וארץ
 34 תצרח על ההווה הנחיה בתבל וכול מחשביה ירועו ויתחוללו כול אשר עליה
 35 ויתמוגגו בהווה גדר[ל]ה היא ירעם אל בהמון כוחו ויהם זבול קודשו באמת
 36 כבודו וצבא השמים יתנו כקולם [ו]יתמוגגו וירעדו אושי עולם ומלחמת גבורי
 37 שמים תשוט בתבל ולא תשוב עך כלה ונחרצה לעד ואפס כמוה

20. I give you thanks, O Lord, for you have redeemed my soul from the pit
 21. and from Sheol Abaddon (21) you have lifted me up to an everlasting height,
 and I walk on level ground that is unsearchable,
 and I know that there is hope for the one whom
 22. you have formed from dust into an eternal council.
- And the perverted spirit you have purified from great transgression,
 23. that he might station himself in position with (23) the host of the holy ones
 and that he might enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven.
 24. And you have cast for man an eternal lot together with the spirits of (24) knowledge,
 that he might praise your name in the community of re[joicing],
 and that he might recount your wonders before all your creatures.
25. And I, a creature of (25) clay, what am I? One kneaded with water,
 and for whom shall I be reckoned?
 and what is my strength?
 For I have stationed myself in the border of wickedness
 26. and with the scoundrels in lot.
- And the soul of the poor dwells amidst great tumults
 and the disasters of raging are with my steps.
 27. when all the snares of the pit open
 and all the nets of wickedness
 and the net of the scoundrels are spread out upon the face of the waters,
 28. when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
 and they burst forth without hope,
 When the measuring line falls upon judgement
 29. and the lot of wrath (29) upon the forsaken
 and the outpouring of wrath against the dissemblers
 and the time of burning anger for all worthlessness
 and the cords of death surround without escape
30. And the torrents of Belial flow over all the high river banks,
 like fire consuming all their watering places,
 31. to destroy every tree, green (31) and dry, from their channels.

¹² There is a variant on 4Q32 frg. 4 col. II. The second word reads וקץ instead of וקץ. It is inconclusive as to whether קץ or קץ is the original reading (see Schuller 1999: 221).

¹³ שנאביהם is unattested in the Bible. Licht (1957: 87) takes it as a parallel to פלגיהם and שיתיהם. Wallenstein (1950: 20-1) interprets it as derived from a segholate noun שואב and renders "their wells," so are Lohse (1971: 122) and Kittel (1981: 59). De Menasce (1958-59: 133) suggests that it is derived from the Persian word "šinâb," i.e., "swimming," thus having the meaning of river or irrigation canal. Carmignac (1961: 201-2), Puech (1993: 367) and Douglas (1998: 180-1) have followed this line of interpretation.

- And it roves about with flames of fierce burning
until there is none left of all those who drink them.
32. It consumes the foundations of clay (32) and the surface of the dry land.
The foundations of the mountains are for burning
and the roots of flint for torrents of pitch,
and it shall consume as far as the great deep.
33. And the torrents of Belial break into Abaddon
and the devices of the deep roar with the din of those casting out mud.
34. And (the) earth (34) cries out at the disaster which is about to come upon the world
and all its devices scream,
and all who are upon it turn to madness
35. and they melt away at the gre[a]t disaster.

- For God will thunder with the roar of his power
36. and his holy abode shall roar with the truth of (36) his glory
and the heavenly hosts shall send forth their voice,
[and] the eternal foundations shall melt and tremble.
37. And the war of the mighty ones (37) of heaven shall rove about the world,
and shall not withdraw until complete destruction
and it has been determined for eternity and there is nothing like unto it.

4.2.2 Structure and Content

11:20-37 is a well preserved hymn, with both the beginning and the end clearly marked by the introductory formula, **אִירְכָּה אֲדוֹנִי**. With the exception of the independent pronoun **וְאֲנִי** in 11:24d, no other structural markers can be discerned in this hymn. The following division of the hymn relies heavily on its theme development:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| A. 20-22a : | Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving. |
| B. 22b-24c: | God's gracious dealing with sinful humanity. |
| C. 24d-26a: | Personal reflection in which the author meditates on the creaturely lowliness. |
| D. 26b-29: | Description of distress and the impending judgement. |
| E. 30-35a: | Detailed portrayal of the fiery judgement. |
| F. 35b-37: | The conclusion describes the complete destruction brought about by God's heavenly army. |

The opening line of this hymn takes essentially the same form as is found in other hymns within 1QH 10-17. It consists of the standard introductory formula, followed by **כִּי** + a second masculine singular perfect verb with a reference to the author himself, that is, **נִפְשִׁי**. Distinctive to this introduction is the following structural pattern, perfect verb + **מִן** + noun + **לִי** + noun:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 11:20-21 | פָּדִיתָהּ נַפְשִׁי מִשְׁחַת וּמִשְׁאוֹל אֲבַדּוֹן הָעֲלִיתָנִי לְרוֹם עוֹלָם
you have redeemed my soul from the pit and
from Sheol Abaddon you have lifted me up to an everlasting height |
| 11:21-22 | יֵשׁ מְקוֹה לְאִשֶּׁר יִצְרָתָהּ מִעַפָּר לְסוֹד עוֹלָם
there is hope for the one whom you have formed |

The last phrase of the section לסוד עולם echoes לרום עולם, making an inclusio within the introduction.

Section B has a similar structure but with a series of infinitive clauses introduced by ל. Chiastic inclusio is achieved by the double use of ביחד in the middle of the section:

11:22-23 להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים
that he might station himself in position with the host of the holy ones
and that he might enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven

11:24 להלל שמכה ביחד רננה ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה
that he might praise your name in the community of re[joicing] and
that he might recount your wonders before all your creatures

The author turns to a series of personal introspection in Section C. In stark contrast to the previous section, where God has enabled the perverted spirit to stand in position (להתיצב) with the host of the holy ones and has cast for man an eternal lot (גורל עולם), the author here states that he has stationed himself (התיצבתי) in the border of wickedness and with the scoundrels in lot (בגורל). By means of repeated words, sections B and C are joined together.

Section D is characterised by a series of infinitives in temporal or circumstantial clauses. The expressions מצודות רשעה ומכמרת חלכאים “the nets of wickedness and the net of the scoundrels” in 11:27b echoes בגורל חלכאים ועם רשעה “in the border of wickedness and with the scoundrels in lot” in 11:25d-26a, thus linking this section to the previous one. An obvious use of Scripture is found in 11:28. The expression בנפול קן על משפט “when the measuring line falls upon judgement” is likely to be taken from Isa 28:17, where it says, ושמתי משפט לקן וצדקה למשקלת “and I will make justice the line, and righteousness the plummet.” Another use of Scripture is found in 11:27:

11:27 ויפרשו כול מצודות רשעה ומכמרת חלכאים על פני מים
and all the nets of wickedness and the net of the scoundrels are spread out upon the face of the waters

Isa 19:8 ואנו הדיגים ואכלו כל-משליכי ביאור חכה ופרשי מכמרת על-פני-מים אמללו
The fishermen will mourn; all who cast hook in the Nile will lament, and those who spread nets on the water will languish.

Section 11:30-35a introduces the fiery judgement. A new set of vocabulary is used: נחלי בליעל (ll. 30, 33), תהום (ll. 32, 33), מחשבה (ll. 33, 34), הוזה (ll. 34, 35), אכל (ll. 30, 31, 32). Very striking is the repetitive use of כול, by means of which the ultimate and complete destruction of the judgement are emphasized. It is possible

that the expressions וחבלי מות אפפו in 11:29 and נחלי בליעל in 11:30 are allusions to Ps 18:5-6.

The final section continues to describe the eschatological warfare and the world's devastation but the focus shifts to the heavenly army of God. It may be suggested that the author sees his own problem resolved in the light of the eschatological victory of God's army. Many key words are recapitulated here: עולם (Il. 21, 22, 23, 36), ותשוט (Il. 31, 37), בתבל (Il. 34, 37), אפס (Il. 31, 37), ויתמוגגו (Il. 35, 36), כוח (Il. 25, 35), בהמון (Il. 33, 35), המה (Il. 33, 35), צבא (Il. 23, 36), שמים (Il. 23, 36, 37), קדש (Il. 23, 35).¹⁴

4.2.3 Literary Affinity

This hymn has five lexical items in common with 16:5-17:36, all of them occurring only in these two hymns: עורף, נחל, לח, יבש, חלמיש.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 11:28 | <u>בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין השב</u>
when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning |
| 16:32 | <u>ויתעופפו [עלי] משברים</u>
and breakers rush [against me] |
| 11:30 | <u>וילכו נחלי בליעל על אנפי רום</u>
and the torrents of Belial flow over all the high river banks |
| 11:32 | <u>ושורשי חלמיש לנחל זפת</u>
And the roots of flint for torrents of pitch |
| 11:33 | <u>ויבקעו לאבדון נחלי בליעל</u>
And the torrents of Belial break into Abaddon |
| 16:18 | <u>ויהיו לנחל שוטף ...</u>
and they become an overflowing torrent ... |
| 17:5 | <u>ורמעתי כנחלי מים</u>
and my tears like torrents of water |
| 16:24 | <u>יכו שרשיו בצור חלמיש</u>
its root strike into the flintstone |
| 11:30-31 | <u>להתם כול עץ לח ויבש מפליהם</u>
to destroy every tree, green and dry, from their channels. |
| 16:20 | <u>לח ויבש מצולה לכול חיה</u>
green and dry, the deep for every animal |

חלמיש "flint" occurs five times in the Bible but is never used in conjunction with

¹⁴ Douglas (1998: 184) suggests that there are twelve expressions repeating twice in his last section, i.e., 28c-37, as he writes: "If one wants to read anything into this strange pattern, I would point out that it is fitting that the number of the months and zodiac is used in this cosmological piece." Douglas (1998: 180) reads קן instead of קין on line 29, apparently on the basis of the variant on 4Q429 frg. 4 col. II:3.

רפש “root.”¹⁵ Another similarity between the two hymns is the combination of רפש and גרש. In 11:33, it says, ויהמו מחשבי תהום בהמון גורשי רפש “and the devices of the deep will roar with the din of those casting out mud”. A similar use of רפש and גרש is found in 16:16, where it says, כי גרשו עלי רפשמ “for they have cast up their mire over me.” A more striking parallel is found in 11:21-22 and 17:14:

- 11:21-22 ואדעה כיא יש מקוה לאשר יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם
and I know that there is hope for the one
whom you have formed from dust into an eternal council
- 17:14 ואדעה כני יש מקוה ב[ח]סדיכה
and I know th[at] there is hope in your [me]rcy

Moreover, this hymn shows a few lexical similarities with 13:22-15:8. הוזה is a word distinctive to the hymns within 1QH 10-15 but its frequent use in these two hymns should not go unnoticed (11:26, 34, 35; 13:27, 28; 14:6, 24; 15:8). The use of קן in conjunction with משפט is found only in these hymns. Two lexical items are distinctive to the hymns: שביב and אפף. The formula יא יש מקוה “I know that there is hope” is also found in 14:9.

- 11:31 ותשוט בשביבי לחוב עד אפס כול שותיהם
and it roves about with flames of fierce burning
until there is none left of all those who drink them
- 14:21 בשביבי נוגהו יבערו כול ב[ני עולה]
in its blazing flames all the s[ons of injustice] shall burn
- 11:29 וחבלי מות אפפן לאין פלט
and the cords of death surround without escape
- 13:41 נחלי ב[ל]ני על אפפן נפשי
[Torrents of Be]lial encompass my soul
- 11:28 בנפול קן על משפט
when the measuring line falls upon judgement
- 14:29 וכפים על קן משפט
and the framework on the line of justice

Finally, this hymn has two lexical affinities with 11:1-19.

- 11:28 בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין חשב
when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
- 11:17 [כול חצי שחת]
... [a]ll the arrows of the pit
- 11:31-32 באשי חמר תאוכל וברקוע יבשה
It consumes the foundations of clay and the surface of the dry land
- 11:36 [ו]יתמיגו וירעדו אושי עולם
[and] the eternal foundations shall melt and tremble

¹⁵ Cf. Dt 8:15, 32:13; Ps 114:8; Jb 28:9; Isa 50:7.

וירועו אֲשֶׁר קִיר כְּאוֹנִיָּה עַל פְּנֵי מַיִם 11:13-14
and the foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the face of the waters

4.3 1QH 11:38-12:5

4.3.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 3:37-4:4; frg. 25; SHR 190403
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 166

אֲדַרְכָּה אֲדֹנִי כִּי־אֵינִי לִי לְחֹמַת עֹז	38
[תַּסְתִּירֵנִי מִחֻוּוֹת מְחֻמָּה]	39
[לֹא בָל יִבּוֹא]	40
[בִּסְבִיבֶיהָ פֶּן]	41
	[1
	[2
	[3
[עַל סֹלֶעַ רִגְלִי]	4
[דֶּרֶךְ עוֹלָם וְנִתִּיבוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתָּה]	5

38. I give you thanks, Lord, for you have become a strong wall for me
39. []/ destroyers and all [] you hide me from tumultuous disaster []
40. []/ not enter []
41. [] around it, lest []
1. []
2. []
3. []
4. [] my feet upon rock []
5. [] eternal way and on the paths which you have chosen []

4.3.2 Literary Affinity

There is not much that one can make out with certainty the relationship of this fragmentary hymn to the other hymns of 1QH 10-17. However, there are a few lexical affinities between 11:38-12:5 and 13:22-15:8. In 11:38, the author thanks God for being a strong wall (חומת עוז) for him. The same phrase חומת עוז is used in 13:39. The expression בל יבוא is found only in these two hymns (11:40; 14:31, 38). Finally, these two hymns make use of the phrase על סלע (12:4; 14:29).

It is worth noting that all these lexical units occur only in Group II. חומה is found five times in the *Hodayot*, once in this hymn and twice each in 13:22-15:8 and 15:9-28. The combination of בוא and בל occurs only in these two hymns. Even more, the adverb בל is used eight times in the *Hodayot* and is found only in Group II (11:40; 14:24, 30, 31, 38; 15:10; 16:13, 14). על סלע occurs four times in the *Hodayot* and is found in this hymn as well as in 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, and 16:5-17:36. All these

would point to a literary relationship of this hymn to the other hymns of Group II and especially to 13:22-15:8.

4.4 *1QH 13:22-15:8*

4.4.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 5:20-7:5; frgs. 29, 26; SHR 19405, 190418, 190409

1QH 13:22-23 = 4Q428 frg. 4:1-3

1QH 13:27-30 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. III:7-12

1QH 13:31-40 = 4Q429 frg. 1 col. IV:1-12

1QH 14:17-20 = 4Q428 frg. 5:1-5

1QH 14:20-25 = 4Q429 frg. 2 col. I:4-12

1QH 14:26-32 = 4Q429 frg. 2 col. II:2-12

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 172-6

22 ברוך אתה¹⁶ אדוני כי לא עזבתה יתום ולא בזיתת רש כי גבורתכה [] וכבודכה
23 לאין מדה וגבורי פלא משרי תיכה ועם ענוים בטאטאיי רגל יכה [] עם נמהרי
24 צדק להעלות משאון יחד כול¹⁷ אביוני חסד ואני הייתי על ען [] דני לריב
25 ומדנים לרעי קנאה ואף לבאי בריתי ורגן ותלונה לכול נועדי גןם אורכלי¹⁸ לחמי
26 עלי הגדילו עקב ויליזו¹⁹ עלי בשפת עול כול נצמדי סודי ואנשי [עצתי סוררים
27 ומלינים סביב וברז חבתה בי ילכו רכיל לבני הוות ובעבור הגדן [] כי²⁰ ולמען

¹⁶ ברוך אתה is an interlinear insertion above the word אורכה which is singled out for deletion by means of dots above and below it.

¹⁷ After כול the scribe has erased the letters נמה, perhaps intending to write נמהרי under the influence of the preceding phrase צדק נמהרי. He then wrote אביוני and left no space (see Martin 1958, II, 479).

¹⁸ Habermann (1960: 120) suggests אורכלי. Most scholars restore אורכלי, with reference to Ps 41:10 (Bardtke 1956b: 597; Carmignac 1961: 216; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 49; Delcor 1962: 163; Douglas 1998: 131; Gaster 1957: 153; Licht 1957: 105; Maier 1960: 85; Wallenstein 1955-56: 243). The letter before the gap is clearly a נ rather than a ר. Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 172) offers this restoration גןם אורכלי, but this is too long. The most likely one is then גןם אורכלי (see also DeVries 1964-66: 402; Jeremias 1963: 227; Lohse 1971: 130; Mansoor 1961: 136; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 172).

¹⁹ לוי in the Qal or Hiphil means "to turn aside, to depart." In the Rabbinic literature, it has the meaning "to talk about, sneer, talk disrespectfully" (Jastrow 1926: 696), which fits the context well here.

²⁰ Habermann (1960: 120) suggests הגדן לתך בי while some scholars restore הגדן לתך בי (Bardtke 1956b: 598; Jeremias 1963: 227; Lohse 1971: 130; Maier 1960: 86). Licht (1957: 105) and Wallenstein (1955-56: 243) propose הגבירכה בי. Douglas (1998: 131) has taken this restoration and said to have strong palaeographic argument in favor of his reading הגבירכה. He claims to have been able to see clearly the first four letters הגבי by magnifying the word in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*. This restoration is significant as far as his major argument is concerned (Douglas 1998: 89-91): "I have given a special significance to the expression הגבירכה בי. ... This 'signature phrase' provides an Archimedian point of entry for doing a literary criticism of the *Hodayot*." According to Douglas, the signature phrase is a major criterion in determining whether a hymn is related to the other authentic "Teacher Hymns." As a result, the hymn in question is related

- 28 אשמתם סתרת מעין בינה וסוד אמת והמה הוות לבם יחשובו [ודברי ב] ליעל פתחו
 29 לשון שקר כחמת תנינים פורחת לקצים וכזוחל עפר יורו לחתוף מבלגות פתנים
 30 לאין חבר ותהי לכאיב אנוש ונגע נמאר בתכמי²¹ עבדכה להכשיל [רוח] ולחתם
 31 כוח לבלתי חזק מעמד וישיגוני במצרים לאין מנוס ולא בחבן [פחות ויהמו
 32 בכנור ריבי ובנגינות יחד תלונתם עם שאה ומשואה זלעופות [אחזוני] וחבלים כצירי
 33 יולדה ויהם עלי לבי קדרות לבשתי ולשוני לחך תדבק [כי סבבוני בחוות] לבם ויצרם
 34 הופיע לי למרורים ויחשך מאור פני לאפלה והורי נחפך למשחור²³ ואת²² אלי
 35 מרחב פתחתה בלבבי ויוספיה לצוקה וישוכו בעדי בצלמות ואוכלה בלחם אנחה
 36 ושקוי בדמעות אין כלה כי עששו מכעס עיני ונפשי במרורי יום [אנחה] ויגון
 37 יסובבוני ובושת על פנים ויחפך לי לנחמין לריב ושקוי לבעל מדנים ויבוא בעצמי
 38 להכשיל רוח ולכלות כוח כרוי פשע משנים מעשי אל באשמתם כי נאנסרתי בעבותים
 39 לאין נתק וזקים ללוא ישוברו וחומת ענין [ובריחי ברזל ודלתן נחושת לאין]
 40 [פתוח כ] לאי עם תהום נחשב[תי] לאין]
 41 [נחלי ב]לני על אפפו נפשי לן
 [1
 [2
 [3
 [4
 5 לבי בנאצן
 6 והווה לאין חקר כלה לאין]
 7 גליתה אוזני [מוכיחי צדק עם]
 8 מעדת שן[א ומסור חמס ותביאני בעצת]
 9 ואדעה כי יש מקוה לשבי פשע ועוזבי חטאה בהן [תהלך
 10 בדרך לבכה לאין עול ואנחמה על המון עם ועל שאון מן[לכות בהאספם] [עתי אשר
 11 תרים למצער מחיה בעמכה ושארית ננחלתה ותזקקם להטהר מאשמה כיא כול
 12 מעשיהם באמתכה ובחסדיך תשפטם בהמון רחמים ורוב סליחה וכפין[כה] להורותם
 13 וכי שיר²⁴ אמתכה להכינם בעצתכה לכבודכה ולמענכה עשין[הן] לגדל תורה ון]

to the other three hymns containing the same phrase. The present writer has carefully checked this word on the photographic plate as well as magnifying the same word in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* but is still unable to see the letters **ב** **י**. Besides, the facsimile clearly shows that the letter immediately after the gap is a **כ** rather than a **ב**, just as Sukenik had transcribed.

Delcor (1962: 164-5) proposes **הג[דילתה דר]כי**, which is too long. A few scholars restore **הג[דל דר]כי** (Carmignac 1961: 216; DeVries 1964-66: 403; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 49; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 172). This is a plausible restoration.

²¹ Sukenik mistakenly transcribed this word as **בתכמי**. **תכם** is not found in the OT but occurs again in 15:7 and 4:25. Baumgarten and Mansoor (156:110-11) interpret this word as "bowels, inner parts." This fits the context well, especially in 15:7. Most scholars have followed this line of interpretation (Carmignac 1961: 218; Delcor 1962: 166; DeVries 1964-66: 404; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 172; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 99; Jeremias 1963: 228; Maier 1960: 86).

²² Strangely, **את** rather than **אתה** is used here. This usage of a feminine form to address God is distinctive to this hymn and unattested in the rest of the *Hodayot*.

²³ **משחור** is not found elsewhere in the *Hodayot*. Although it never occurs in the OT, it seems to be related to the verb **שחר** "be black." Building on parallelism, one may take **למשחור** as a parallel to **לאפלה**. Some prefer to read **למשחית**, with reference to Dan 10:8 (see Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 110 n. 59; Licht 1957: 107).

²⁴ **י** is an interlinear insertion between **י** and **ש**.

- 14 אנשי עצתכה בתוך בני אדם לספר לדורות עולם נפלאותיכה ובגבורותיכה יש[חחו
15 לאין חשבת וידעו כול גוים אמתכה וכול לאומים כבודכה כי הביאותנה [ודכה
16 לכול אנשי עצתכה ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים ואין מליץ בנים לקן [שיב
17 פריו²⁵ כי] [בה והם ישובו בפי כבודכה ויהיו שריכה בגורנל
18 פרח כצנין השדה ע[ך עולם לג' ל נצר לעופי מטעת עולם ויצל צל על כול [תכל]
19 עד ש[חקים ו]שרשי עד תהום וכול נהרות ערן [תשקן את ד[לני]ותיו והיה ל[נימים לאין]
20 חקר] [על תכל לאין אפס ועד שאול] [היה מעין אור למקור
21 עולם לאין חסר בשביבי נוגהו יבערו כול ב[ני עולה והיה] לאש בוערת בכול אנשי
22 אשמה עד כלה והמה נצמדי תעודתי פותו במן [בעבודת צדק
23 ואתה אל צויתם להועיל מדרכיהם בדרך קו[רש אשר ילכו]²⁶ בה וערל וטמא ופריץ
24 כל יעוברנה ויתמוטטו מדרך לבכה ובהווה] [יכמוא ויעץ בליעל
25 עם לבכם] [מחשבת רשעה יתגוללו באשמהו והיי[תי כמלח באוניה בזעף
26 ימים גליהם וכול משבריהם עלי חמו רוח עועיים [לאין] דממה לחשיב נפש ואין
27 נתיבת לישר דרך על פני מים ויהם תהום לאנחתי ונפשי תגיע עד שערי מות ואהיה
28 כבא בעיר מצור ונעזו בחומה נ²⁷ גבה עד פלט ואשן [אמתכה אלי כי אתה
29 תשים סוד על סלע וכפס על קו משפט ומשקלת אמת] ות אבני בחן ל
30 עזו ללוא תתעזעזע וכול באיה כל ימוטו כי לא יבוא זר [בשער]יה דלתי מגן לאין
31 מבוא ובריחי עזו ללוא ישוברו כל יבוא גדוד בכלי מלחמתו עם תום כול ח[רבות]
32 מלחמות רשעה ואז תחיש חרב אל בקין משפט וכול בני אנמתו יעורו ל
33 רשעה וכול בני אשמה לא יהיו עוד וידרוך גבור קשתו ויפתח מצור]
34 למרחב אין קץ ושערי עולם להוציא כלי מלחמות ויעצו[מ]ו מקצה עד [קצה]
35] פלט ליצר אשמה לכלה ירמוסו ואין שן ואין תקוה ברוב]
36 ולכול גבורי מלחמ[ת אין מנוס כי לאל עליון חן]
37 ושוכבי עפר הרימו תרן ותולעת מתים נשאו נס לחן [כרתון
38 במלחמות זדים ומעביר שוט שוטף כל יבוא במבצר]
39] ל[] לתפל וככפס לאן
[1
[2
[3
[4
[5 זר[ע נשברת מקניה ותטבע בבכין²⁸ רגלי שעו עיני מראות

²⁵ Sukenik transcribed כרר but the facsimile clearly shows a פ and ו for the first and last letters of the word, respectively. Although it is difficult to distinguish between י and ו, the third letter looks more like a י in this case (see García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 174).

²⁶ Wallenstein's restoration (1955-56: 248), קורש ובנתיבת אהבה, is too long. So are Dupont-Sommer's restoration (1957: 54), קורשכה אשר ישע, and Lohse's (1971: 136), קורשכה אשר ילכו, (see García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 174). It has been suggested that the first word is something like קורש (Bardke 1956b: 600; Carmignac 1961: 222; Licht 1957: 115; Mansoor 1961: 144) or קורשכה (Delcor 1962: 178; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 102; Jeremias 1963: 234; see also Gaster 1957: 157). Were it correct to take the first two lines as an allusion to Isa 48:17, one would expect a verbal form of הלך before בה. This is confirmed by 4Q429 frg. 2 I 9. Puech (1993: 353) has the same reading.

²⁷ A letter has been erased after the first letter נ. It looks like a ס, as Sukenik suggested, but is quite uncertain.

²⁸ Read בכין, here is a case of dittography.

6 רע אַזני משמוע דמים השם לבכי ממחשבת רוע כי בליעל עם הופע יצר
 7 הוותם וירועו כול אושי מבניתי ועצמי יתפרדו ותכמי עלו כאוניה בזעף
 8 חרישית²⁹ ויהם לבי לכלה ורוח עועיים תבלעני מהוות פשעם

22. Blessed are you, O Lord,
 for you have not forsaken the orphan,
 and you have not despised the destitute.
 For your strength []
23. and your glory is (23) without measure
 and the wonderful mighty are your ministers
 and with the humble in the mud³⁰ at [your] feet []
24. with those who are swift to execute (24) righteousness,
 to bring up together from the uproar all the merciful poor.
25. And I, I have become '[] *dm*y strife (25) and contention to my friends,
 jealousy and anger to those who enter my covenant,
 and grumbling and murmuring to all my colleagues.
26. E[ven those who ea]t of my bread (26) have lifted up the heel against me
 and they have sneered at me with lips of injustice,
 all those who have committed themselves to my council.
27. and the men [of my counsel] are rebellious (27) and murmur round about.
 And concerning the mystery you have hidden in me,
 they go about as slanderers to the sons of destruction,
 and for the sake of *hgd*[] *ky*
28. and on account of (28) their guilt
 you have concealed the fountain of understanding and the counsel of truth.
- And as for them, they devise destruction in their heart,
29. [and the words of Be]lial have opened (29) a lying tongue,
 as the venom of vipers, which breaks forth from time to time,
 and like crawling things of the dust they aim
30. to [seize the smiles of] asps (30) which cannot be charmed.
 And it has become an incurable pain
 and a malignant wound in the bowels of your servant,
 causing [the spirit] to stumble
31. and making an end of (31) strength
 so that he could not hold firm to the place of standing.
 And they have overtaken me in narrow places,
 where there was no escape and nor *bhb*[] *phwt*
32. and they have roared forth (32) complaint against me with the lyre,
 and with mocking songs in unison their murmuring
 together with devastation and desolation.

²⁹ חרישית is a *hapax* in the OT (cf. Jon 4:8).

³⁰ The interpretation of בטאטאיי is difficult. Mansoor (1961: 135) prefers to read מטאטאי. He proposes that the word is somehow related to Arabic wt' "to trample" and should be understood as a Polpal participle meaning "trampled." Wallenstein (1955-56: 251) takes it as a construct plural noun from טאטא and translates "those that cleanse." There are a few who take it as a verb. Lohse (1971: 131; similarly Maier 1960: 85) translates, "wenn [ihre] Füße versinken (?)" Dupont-Sommer (1957: 49) reads בטאטאוי and takes it as derived from טאטא, translating "dans les balayures" (see also Carmignac 1961: 216; Delcor 1962: 162; DeVries 1964-66: 404). In the OT, טאטא occurs only in Isa 14:23, where it has the meaning "to sweep." It has been suggested that טאטא is related to the noun טיט, "mud, mire" (cf. Bardtke 1960a: 597; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 99; Jeremias 1963: 226; see also García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 173; Gaster 1957: 152; Vermes 1995: 205), which seems to fit the context better here.

- Hot indignation [has seized me]
33. and pains like the pangs of one (33) giving birth
and my heart has roared against me.
I am dressed in black (garments)
and my tongue cleaves to the roof of (my) mouth,
[for they have surrounded with destruction] in their heart
34. And their inclination (34) appeared to me as bitterness
and the light of my countenance has been dimmed into darkness
and my glory has changed into gloom.
35. And you, my God, (35) has opened a wide space in my heart
but they have increased it to distress
and they have shut me up in deep darkness
and I eat the bread of sighing
36. and my drink is tears without end;
for my eyes have wasted away because of grief,
and my soul by the bitterness of the day.
37. [Sighing] and sorrow (37) surround me,
and shame is on (my) faces,
and my [bread] has turned for me into strife,
and my drink into contention.
And it has entered into [my bon]es
38. causing the spirit to fail
and making an end of strength
according to the mysteries of sin,
those who have changed the works of God by their guilt.
39. For [I am] bound with cords (38) that cannot be torn apart,
and fetters that cannot be broken;
and a [strong] wall []
[and] iron bolts and [bronze] gates [that cannot be opened.]
40. My [pri]son is reckoned with the deep without []
41. [Torrents of Be]lial encompass my soul I[]

Column 14

1.]
2.]
3.]
4.]
5. my heart *bn's*[]
6. and disaster that is unsearchable, destruction without []
7. you have opened my ears [] those who rebuke with righteousness []
8. from the congregation of [worthlessness] and from the council of violence,
and you have brought me into the counsel of [] guilt
9. And I know that there is hope for those who turn from transgression
and forsake sin *bh*[] walk
10. in the way of your heart without injustice.
And I will take comfort above the roar of the people
and above the din of [king]doms
when they gather themselves together []'ty
11. that you will raise up a few survivors among your people
and a remnant among your inheritance.
And you will refine them, that they may be purified from guilt
12. For all (12) their deeds are (found out) in your truth
and in your lovingkindness you judge them
with the abundance of compassion
and the multitude of forgiveness,
and according to your commandment, teaching them,

13. and according to the uprightness of your truth,
establishing them in your counsel for your glory.
And for your own sake [you have] worked to [magnify] the law and []
14. the men of your counsel among the sons of man,
to declare your wonders to eternal generation
15. and on [your] mighty deeds they me[ditate] (15) ceaselessly,
and all nations shall acknowledge your truth,
and all peoples your glory.
For you have brought [] *wdkh*
16. to all the men of your counsel,
and in the lot together with the angels of the face
and there is not any mediator between *lq*[] *šyb*
17. Its fruit, for [] *bh*
And they shall return at your glorious command,
and they shall be your princes in the [lot of]
18. it springs up like a flo[wer of the field for]ever,
to make a shoot grow into branches of an eternal plantation,
and it will cast shade over all the [world]
19. up to the cl[ouds],
[and] its roots as far as the deep;
and all the streams of Eden [will water] its [branches]
20. and it shall become [seas that are not] (20) searchable [] over the world without end,
and as far as to Sheol []
21. [And] the spring of light shall become (21) an eternal fountain, inexhaustible,
in its blazing flames all the s[ons of injustice] shall burn,
[and it shall become] a fire that consumes all the men of guilt unto destruction
22. And they, the ones who have committed themselves to my witness,
have been seduced by *bm*[] in the service of righteousness.
23. And you, O God, have commanded them to profit
from their ways on the path of [holiness in which they will walk]
and the uncircumcised, and the unclean,
24. and the violent man (24) do not pass over
but they have stumbled from the way of your heart,
and in calamity [] they languish.
25. And Belial is the counselor (25) of their heart,
[] thoughts of wickedness they wallow in guilt
26. [And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging (26) of the seas,
their waves and all their breakers have roared over me,
a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul,
27. nor any (27) path to straighten a way upon the surface of the waters.
And the depths roar to my sighing
and [my soul comes near] to the gates of death.
28. And I am (28) as one who enters a fortified city
and seeks refuge in a high wall until deliverance;
and 'š[] your truth, O my God,
29. for (29) you set the foundation upon a rock,
and the framework on the line of justice,
and the plumbline of tr[uth] *wt*
30. tried stones for (30) strong []
that shall not be shaken,
and all those who enter it shall not stumble,
for a stranger cannot enter its [gates],
31. armoured doors which have no (31) entrance
and strong bolts that cannot be broken.

- A troop cannot enter in with its weapons of war,
 32. though all the [swords] of (32) the wars of wickedness be destroyed.
- Then the sword of God shall hasten at the time of judgement
 33. and all the sons of his [truth] shall arise / [] (33) wickedness
 and all the sons of guilt shall be no more.
 And the mighty one shall bend his bow,
 and he shall break the siege []
 34. to broaden the space without end,
 and the gates of eternity to bring out the weapons of war,
 and they shall be migh[ty] from one end to [the other]
 35. [] sal]vation for a guilty inclination.
 To destruction they are trampled and there is no s[]
 [and there is no] hope in the greatness []
 36. and for all the mighty ones of wars there is no escape.
- For to God Most High h[]
 37. And those who lie in the dust shall raise the ensign ,
 and the worm of the dead shall lift up the standard. lh[] krtw[]
 38. In the wars of the insolent
 and He who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress []
 39. []/[] for plaster and as a girder l' []

Column 15

1.]
2.]
3.]
4. [] I am dumb []
5. [] (my) arm] is broken from its joint,
 and my feet sink in the mire,
6. my eyes are blind from seeing (6) evil,
 my ears from hearing of bloodshed,
 my heart is appalled at the thought of evil;
 for Belial is the manifestation of their destructive inclination,
7. and all the foundations of my building are shattered,
 and my bones are out of joint,
8. and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of (8) the storm,
 and my heart is distraught to destruction,
 and a whirlwind engulfs me because of the destruction of their transgression

4.4.2 Structure and Content

Instead of using the standard introductory formula, אורכה אדוני, this hymn opens with ברוך אתה אדוני, a formula occurring three more times in the *Hodayot*, all outside 1QH 10-17 (1QH 8:16, 18:14, 19:32). It should be pointed out that the first word of the hymn was originally אורכה but a correction was made by another scribe. The introductory word, אורכה, was replaced with ברוך אתה. If אורכה אדוני is the introductory formula of the “Teacher hymns,” such a scribal correction would imply that this hymn, from the point of view of the second scribe, seems less of a “Teacher Hymn” than the first scribe perceived.

This long hymn is badly mutilated and suffers from numerous lacunae. The text in column 14 is marred by large holes. The upper and lower margins of the column

are poorly preserved. This makes it difficult to determine whether 13:22-15:8 contains more than one hymn. Most scholars take 13:22-15:8 as a single unit.³¹ Some scholars have divided 13:22-15:8 into three hymns: 13:22-end of column 13, 14:1-end of column 14, and 15:1-8³² while a few have taken 13:22 to the end of column 14 as one composition and 15:1-8 as another hymn.³³

There is some few literary evidence speaking in favour of the unity of 13:22-15:8. Columns 13 and 14 contain a number of shared lexical units such as הוֹמָה, הוֹרָה, בְּרִיחַ, דָּלֶת, תְּהוֹם, etc. Worth noting is that three lexical items are distinctive to these two columns and unattested in the rest of the *Hodayot*:

- 13:26 וִילִיזוּ עָלַי בְּשִׁפְתַּי עוֹל כּוֹל נִצְמְדֵי סוּדִי
and they have sneered at me with lip of injustice,
all those who have committed themselves to my council
- 14:22 וְהֵמָּה נִצְמְדֵי תְּעוּדָתִי
and they, the ones who have committed themselves to my witness,
- 13:34-35 וְאַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי מִרְחָב פִּתְחָתָהּ בְּלִבִּי
And you, my God, has opened a wide space in my heart
- 14:33-34 וַיִּפְתַּח מִצּוֹר [] לְמִרְחָב אֵין קֵץ
And he shall break the siege [] to broaden the space without end
- 13:39 וְזָקִים לֹלֵא יִשׁוּבְרוּ
and fetters that cannot be broken
- 14:31 וּבְרִיחֵי עוֹז לֹלֵא יִשׁוּבְרוּ
and strong bolts that cannot be broken

More importantly, the language of lament begins at 13:28b and apparently extends to 14:8. For instance, the key word הוֹרָה occurs six times in 13:22-15:8 and is found in the beginning of the lament (13:28) as well as towards the end (14:6). The same word is used again in the lament of 15:1-8 (15:7, 8). Moreover, a striking parallel can be drawn between 14:25-26 and 15:7-8:

- 14:25-26] וְהִיָּיתִי כַּמֶּלֶח בְּאַוְנִיָּה בִּזְעָף יָמִים גְּלִיָּהֶם וְכוֹל מִשְׁבְּרֵיהֶם עָלַי הָמוּ
רוּחַ עוֹעִיִּים [לֹאִין] דִּמְמָה לְהַשִּׁיב נֶפֶשׁ
[And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas,
their waves and all their breakers have roared over me,
a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul.
- 15:7-8 וְתַכְמִי עָלוּ כְּאַוְנִיָּה בִּזְעָף חֲרִישִׁית וִיהֶם לִבִּי לִכְלָה
וְרוּחַ עוֹעִיִּים תִּבְלַעֲנִי מִהוֹרָת פֶּשַׁעַם
and my bowels heave like a ship in the raging of the storm,

³¹ Carmignac (1961: 216), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 127), Jeremias (1963: 226), Schulz (1974: 22-3), Puech (1993: 48), Wallenstein (1955-56: 242). Tanzer (1986: 111), though taking it as one composition, considers it to be a 'hybrid' with 14:9-22 having material adapted from the "Community Hymns."

³² Becker (1963: 53), Licht (1957: 103ff), Lohfink (1990: 78), Morawe (1960: 128, 133-34).

³³ Dupont-Sommer (1957: 48), Kuhn (1966: 23).

and my heart is distraught to destruction
and a whirlwind engulfs me because of the destruction of their transgression.

The use of **רוח עוֹרֵיִים** and **אוֹנִיָּה בּוֹעֵף** in describing the distress of the author is attested only in 14:25-26 and 15:7-8. Therefore, one may well take 13:22-15:8 as one hymn on the basis of content and its use of vocabulary.

Once again, the prominent use of independent pronouns helps discern the structure of the hymn: **אֲנִי** (13:24, 15:4), **וְהֵם/הֵמָּה** (13:28; 14:17, 22), **וְאֵת/וְאֵתָּה** (13:34, 14:23, 28). The structure is as follows:

- A. 13:22-24b Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
- B. 13:24c-28a Self-description of the author beginning with **וְאֲנִי**.
- C. 13:28b-14:8 Description of the enemies and the author's distress beginning with **וְהֵמָּה**.
- D. 14:9-17a Soteriological confession about the remnant beginning with the formula **וְאֵדַע כִּי יֵשׁ מִקֻּיָּה** "I know that there is hope ...".
- E. 14:17b-22a Eschatological discourse about the remnant beginning with **וְהֵם**.
- F. 14:22b-25b Description of the enemies beginning with **וְהֵמָּה**.
- G. 14:25c-27d Description of the author's distress.
- H. 14:27e-32a Declaration of Deliverance.
- I. 14:32b-39? Eschatological discourse about God's judgement.
- J. 15:1-8 Lament begins with **אֲנִי**.

The introduction has two negative statements, a feature quite similar to the preceding hymn (1QH 13:7-21). On the one hand, the opening lines of these two hymns have **כִּי לֹא** and the verb **עִזַּב**; on the other, the first person singular suffix is not used in this opening line. This introductory section is loaded with terms reminiscent of the preceding hymn: **רֵשׁ, אֲבִיּוֹן, עֲנִי**. In the OT, the poor and the fatherless often appear in the individual psalms of lament (e.g. Ps 12, 35, 72, 86, etc.). It is God who hears their prayers, who protects them, and who provides for their basic needs. Interestingly, these terms do not reappear in the rest of the hymn. In sharp contrast to the lowliness of man, another set of terms is used to describe the attributes of God (e.g. **כְּבוֹדָה, גְּבוּרָתָהּ**). Perhaps, it serves as a point of reference for the following complaints and laments, and anchors the author's faith with regard to his expectation for the future. It is to be noted that the author never mentions himself in this introductory section. Newsom may be right in pointing out:

Although the introductory lines do not contain the pronoun "I", there is no doubt that the speaker is claiming for himself a traditional identity within a well-known moral language. He himself is to be seen as the "orphan" and "the poor one." By the second century BCE these were terms that not only drew on

the ancient paternalistic ethos of the Near East but also on a specifically religious reinterpretation of those terms as labels of rectitude and piety.³⁴

The author makes his first appearance in the next section, 24c-28a. Section B primarily shows the antagonism between the author and his enemies. The author uses a number of terms to introduce his enemies. They are “his friends,” “those who have entered into his covenant,” “his colleagues.” They are the ones who are close to him and yet become slanderers. It is only in the last few lines that he mentions about the special revelation he has received from God. Knowledge of God’s secrets is limited to the author and is an important key to salvation.

With an emphatic change of reference, **וְהַמָּה**, the author’s enemies come on the scene. The section, 13:28b-14:8, gives a gloomy picture, describing vividly the verbal attack of the enemies. The opening few lines depict the enemies’ slander as the attack of poisonous venom. The emotional response of the author completes the rest of the picture. Here the author makes use of the traditional imagery and terminology from the psalms of complaint in order to describe his distress.

With the formula **כִּי וְאֵדָעָה** ‘And I know that,’ the next section, 14:9-17a, makes a sudden shift in theme. The author makes a soteriological confession and expresses his confidence in God. The thematic concern seems to be the hope for those who turn away from transgression and are purified. The focus is then set on “the few survivors” and “the remnant” whom God will raise from among His people. The same theme is carried on to the next section, 14:17b-22a. Section E presents an account of God’s gracious dealing with the remnant. The destruction of the wicked is briefly mentioned towards the end of the section.

The hymn returns to the author’s enemies in Section F, 14:22b-25b, which begins again with **וְהַמָּה**. Here it highlights the fault of his enemies as defection. They are: “those who were pledged to my witness” and “stumbled from the way of your heart.” The author’s emotional response to this wickedness is given in Section G, 14:25c-27d. His distress and struggles are described using the image of a sailor in a raging sea.

A new imagery comes into play in the next section, 27e-32a. The depiction of a fortified city is given here. It is a city with firm foundation and armoured doors that the troop, even with its weapons of war, cannot enter. In other words, it is in that secure and fortified city that the author finds deliverance. Section H is the climax of the hymn, in that the eschatological judgement is described in strong apocalyptic imagery with the use of military idiom.

³⁴ Newsom (1990a: 129).

The final section, 15:1-8, does not end with a note of thanksgiving nor with a declaration of confidence. Instead, the author goes in greater detail to describe his own suffering. Very striking is the use of bodily language in portraying the distress of the author. This section is a summary of the author's distress given in the preceding sections.

13:22-15:8 makes extensive use of Scripture, primarily of Psalms and Isaiah. In 13:25, the phrase ורגן ותלונה לכול נוערי is reminiscent of the wilderness traditions. The combination of the paired terms רגן and תלונה never occurs in the OT; nor is it found elsewhere in the *Hodayot*. רגן appears only as a verb in the OT (Dt 1:27; Isa 29:24; Ps 106:25; Pr 16:28, 18:8, 26:20, 22). רגן in Niphal participle form does function as a noun in Proverbs where the reader is reminded of its inimical effect. For instance, it says in Pr 16:28, "A perverse man spreads strife, and a whisperer (והרגן) separates close friends." In two occasions (Dt 1:27 and Ps 106:25), the biblical writers emphasize the fact that the Israelites murmured (והרגנו) in their tents and did not obey the voice of Yahweh. Of paramount importance is the word תלנה, which does not occur frequently in the OT except in Exodus (16:7, 8, 9, 12) and Numbers (14:27, 17:20, 25). תלנה as a plural construct noun is used in the OT exclusively in reference to the murmuring of Israel against Yahweh in the wilderness traditions. Another word that deserves consideration is נוערי יער. יער in the Niphal is often used for God's meeting Israel at the sanctuary (e.g., Ex 25:22; 30:6, 36). In some occasions, it is used to refer to Israel's assembling against Yahweh in rebellion (e.g., Num 14:35; 16:11). More often than not, the murmuring was against the leaders whom Yahweh had commissioned. The congregation of Israel assembled together and murmured against Moses and Aaron (e.g., Ex 16:2; Num 14:2, 16:11). They doubted Yahweh and cast aspersion on his goodness and power. The author appears to stress that the murmuring of his associates is an act of rebellion and disbelief to Yahweh as well as to his appointed leaders. The significance of this evidence is that it demonstrates a close dependence on biblical vocabulary from texts concerned with Israel's murmuring against Yahweh in the wilderness traditions.

Furthermore, the following statement is almost a citation from Ps 41:10:

13:25-26 גם אֶנְכִּלִּי לַחֲמִי עָלִי הַגְדִּילוּ עִקֵּב
E[ven those who ea]t of my bread have lifted up the heel against me.

Ps 41:10 גַּם־אִישׁ שְׁלוֹמִי אֲשֶׁר־בִּטַּחְתִּי בּוֹ אֹכֵל לַחֲמִי הַגְדִּיל עָלַי עִקֵּב
Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted,
who ate of my bread, has lifted the heel against me.

Psalm 41 is often considered as a psalm of sickness.³⁵ At the outset, the psalmist states with an assurance that God's favor will fall upon the one who considers the poor. He then portrays himself as suffering in an utterly wretched condition. In his sickness he receives no comfort, but the attack of his enemies. The enemies slander his good name and perhaps attribute his sickness to the sin he has committed. It is then in verse 10 that the psalmist describes the greatest sense of betrayal: even his close friend, the one who has shared his bread, has become traitor. But the psalm ends with a note of confidence in that the psalmist expresses his gratitude to God for the answering of his prayer. The same correspondence in language and situation is found in our hymn. Here the writer is also confronted by the verbal attack of his enemies although no mention is made of his sickness. The situation in which the psalmist finds himself is quite similar to that described in our hymn. What's more, the emphasis on the sense of betrayal coincides well with the distress expressed by the writer.

13:28-29 offers an enticing possibility that the author incorporates two biblical texts into his composition. By drawing its vocabulary from Ps 52:4, the first line describes the evil scheming of the enemies, while the second line, excerpting its phraseology from Ps 109:2, gives a portrayal of their verbal attack. In both instances, the author extracts elements from the respective texts and makes them into a combined description of the attack of his enemies, as illustrated below:

- 13:28-29 וַחֲמָה הָווֹת לִבָּם יַחֲשׁוּבוּ
וְדִבְרֵי בֵּלְיָעַל פִּתְחוּ לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר
 And as for them, they devise destruction in their heart
 [and the words of Be]lial have opened a lying tongue.
- Ps 52:4 הָווֹת תַּחֲשֹׁב לְשׁוֹנְךָ כְּתַעֲר מִלֹּטֶשׁ עֹשֶׂה רִמְיָה
 You plots destruction, your tongue is like a sharpened razor,
 you who practice deceitfulness.
- Ps 109:2 כִּי פִי רָשָׁע וּפִי־מִרְמָה עָלַי פִּתְחוּ דִּבְרוּ אֹתִי לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר
 For wicked and deceitful mouths are opened against me,
 they have spoken against me with a lying tongue.

The biblical texts give a vivid depiction of the wicked. It is significant to note that there is a transition from "plotting" to "lying" in Ps 52:4. Even more important is that the following key elements are also found in vv 5-6: שָׁקֶר, לְשׁוֹן, דִּבְרֵי. In stark contrast to Ps 109:2, the portrayal described in Ps 52:5-6 is more of descriptive nature. In Ps 109:2, the verbal attack of the wicked is couched in personal terms. לְשׁוֹן appears to provide a lexical link between these two passages.

³⁵ Croft (1987: 137-8); Craigie (1983: 318-22); Mowinkel (1962: 1-9).

The following lines provide an example of how the author subtly draws on the motifs of the OT prophetic traditions. A comparison of the respective texts demonstrates the consummate skill of the author.

- 13:32-33 זלעפּות [אחזונני] וחבלים כצירי יולדה
Hot indignation [has seized me] and pains like the pangs of one giving birth
- Ps 119:53 זלעפּה אחזתני מרשעים עזבי תורתך
Hot indignation has seized me because of the wicked,
those who forsake your Torah.
- Isa 21:3 על-כן מלאו מתני חלחלה
צירים אחזוני כצירי יולדה
נעויתי משמע נבהלתי מראות
Therefore, my loins are filled with anguish,
pangs have seized me like the pangs of one giving birth
I am bowed down by what I hear,
I am dismayed by what I see.
- Isa 13:8 צירים וחבלים יאחזון
כיוולדה יחילוּן איש אל-רעהו יתמהו פני להבים פניהם
Pangs and agony will seize them like one giving birth in travail
They will look aghast at one another; their faces will be aflame.

The statement זלעפּה אחזתני is an allusion to Ps 119:53 in which the psalmist expresses his fury in reaction to the wicked who abandon the Torah. The author also brings in the birth imagery, which is characteristic of the two Isaiah passages. The judgement motif is also prominent in the Isaiah passages. In Isa 13, the Babylonians writhe in bitter pain like a woman in travail because the day of Yahweh is near. In Isa 21, the prophet is moved by the downfall of Babylon. The seeing of the vision brings upon him painful anguish. It would appear that the prophet experiences deep emotion not only over his own people, but even over his enemies. The expressions חבלים and כצירי יולדה are likely to be taken from Isa 13:8 and Isa 21:3 respectively. More importantly, the verb אחז appears in all these passages. By means of key words and distinctive allusions, the author has drawn upon the motifs of the OT traditions. The birth imagery is simply adapted to suit the purpose of this section, albeit in an entirely different context.

Moreover, the ship imagery is apparently built on the first two chapters of the book of Jonah. In 14:25-26 the author, drawing on the language of Jon 1:5, 15, says, והייתי כמלח באוניה בזעף ימים “[And] I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging of the seas.” The next line, גליהם וכול משבריהם עלי המו “their waves and all their breakers have roared over me,” borrows the vocabulary from Jonah 2:4. It would appear that the author draws on a familiar tradition from the OT, that is, the story of Jonah, for the depiction of his agony. In 14:28-29, the author describes the foundation being laid by God. The same theme is found in Isa 28:16-17, from which

the following key terms come: מוסר, קר, משפט, מבקל, אבן, בחן. It should be noted that the expression שוט שוט at 14:38 is an allusion to Isa 28:15. Finally, 15:5-6 is an allusion to Isa 33:15. Although the context demands a change from third person to first person, the lexical and structural similarities between the two texts are quite evident:

- 15:5-6 שעו עיני מראות רע אוזני משמוע דמים
My eyes are blind from seeing evil
my ears from hearing of bloodshed
- Isa 33:15 הלך צדקות ודבר מישרים מאס בבצע מעשקות
נער כפיו מתמך בשחד
אטם אזנו משמע דמים ועצם עיניו מראות ברע
He who walks righteously and speaks uprightly,
who despises the gain of oppression,
who waves away a bribe instead of accepting it
who stops his ears from hearing of bloodshed
and shuts his eyes from looking on evil.

4.4.3 Literary Affinity

As shown above, 13:22-15:8 shares many lexical similarities with the hymns in column 11. In fact, 13:22-15:8 has a much closer affinity with the hymn 16:5-17:36. There are 15 lexical units they both have in common: פרח, בער, עור, שטף, כאב, אנוש, מנוס, שאה, משואה, זק, מטעת, נהר, משקלת, קנה. All these words are distinctive to these two hymns and not attested anywhere else in the *Hodayot*. Remarkably, these lexical items are clustered primarily in the following two sections: 13:28b-14:8 and 14:9-22a.

The first set of lexical items appear in the sections where the author describes his own distress and suffering. These hymns are filled with biblical terminology. The expressions כאיב אנוש “an incurable pain” and שאה ומשואה “devastation and desolation” are found in Isa 17:11 and Zep 1:15. These terms are used in the context where the impending judgement of God, and particularly, the Day of the Lord, is emphasized. Applying these terms to the author’s suffering is distinctive to 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36:

- 13:30 ותהי לכאיב אנוש ונגע נמאר בתכמי עבדכה
and it has become an incurable pain and a malignant wound in the bowels of
your servant
- 16:28-29 כי פנ[ח] נ[ג]עי למרורים וכאיב אנוש לאין עצור
for my [plague breaks] forth to bitterness and an incurable pain without
restraint
- 13:32 עם שאה ומשואה זלעופות [אחזוני] וחבלים כצירי יולדה
together with devastation and desolation, hot indignation [has seized me]
and pains like the pangs of one giving birth

- 17:6 ואני משואה למשואה וממכאוב לנגע ומחבלים למשברים
and as for me, from devastation to desolation
- 13:30 להכשיל [רוח] ולהתם כוח לבלתי החזק מעמד
causing [the spirit] to stumble and making an end of strength
so that he could not hold firm to the place of standing
- 16:32 להתם כוח לקצים
making an end of strength by periods
- 13:36 ושקוי בדמעות אין כלה
and my drink is tears without end
- 17:5 ודמעתי כנחלי מים
and my tears like rivers of water
- 13:39 נא[סרתין] בעבותים לאין נתק וזקים ללא ישוברו
[I am] bound with cords that cannot be torn apart
and fetters that cannot be broken
- 16:36 בזקי מכשול
with fetters of stumbling block
- 16:38 ... בזקי משפט ...
... with fetters of judgement ...
- 13:29 כחמת תנינים פורחת לקצים
as the venom of vipers, which breaks forth from time to time
- 16:28 פנ[ח] נג[י]עי למרורים
for my [plague breaks] forth to bitterness
- 15:5 [זרו]ע נשברת מקניה
[(my) arm] is broken from its joint
- 16:34 ותשבר זרועי מקניה
and my arm is broken from its joint

Other lexical items occur in the section where the author describes the remnant and their flourishing in apocalyptic terms. Very striking is the image of the shoot growing into an eternal plantation. The expressions מטעת עולם is not attested in the Bible. The plant is watered by the streams of Eden in 14:19 while the plantation is associated with a glorious Eden in 16:21.

- 14:18 פרח כצניץ השדה ע[ד] עולם לגדל נצר לעופי מטעת עולם
it springs up like a flo[wer of the field for]ever
to make a shoot grow into branches of an eternal plantation
- 16:7-8 וחיו להפריח נצר למטעת עולם להשריש טרם יפריחו
and they shall make a shoot grow to eternal plantation,
taking root before they sprout
- 16:11 ומפריח נצר ק[ו]דש למטעת אמת
and he who makes the ho[ly] shoot grow into a plantation of truth
- 14:20-21 היה מעין אור למקור עולם לאין הסר
the spring of light shall become an eternal fountain, inexhaustible
- 16:9 ויהי למקור עולם
and it becomes an eternal fountain
- 14:19 וכול נהרות עדן [תשקו את ד]ל[ני]ותיו

- and all the streams of Eden [will water] its [branches]
- 16:15 הייתי ל[ב]זאי נהרות שוטפים
I have become the [moc]kery of streaming rivers
- 14:21-22 והיה] לאש בוערת בכול אנשי אשמה עד כלה
[and it shall become] a fire that consumes all the men of guilt unto destruction
- 16:31 ויפרח כאש בוער עצור
and it breaks forth as a burning fire shut in
- 14:32 וכול בני א[מ]תו יעורו
and all the sons of his [truth] shall arise
- 17:3 באף יעורר קנאה
in anger it arouses jealousy
- 14:38 ומעביר שוט שוטף בל יבוא במבצר
and he who causes a ravaging scourge to pass will not enter the fortress
- 16:16 ואני הייתי ל[ב]זאי נהרות שוטפים
and I have become the [moc]kery of streaming rivers
- 16:18 ויהיו לנחל שוטף ...
and they become a stream which overflows ...
- 13:31 וישיגוני במצרים לאין מנוס
and they have overtaken me in narrow places where there was no escape
- 14:36 ולכול גבורי מלחמות אין מנוס
and for all the mighty ones of wars there is no escape
- 17:28 מנוסי משגבי סלע עוזי ומצודתי
my refuge, my sure defense, the rock of my strength and my fortress
- 14:29 תשים סוד על סלע וכפים על קן משפט ומשקלת א[מ]ת]
you set the foundation upon a rock, and the framework on the line of justice and the plumbline of tr[uth]
- 16:22-23 לפנות על קן נכון ומטע עציהם על משקלת השמש
to turn against the established line and a plantation of their trees to the plumbline of the sun

As shown above, 14:17b-22a and 16:5-16 have a number of lexical affinities. Even more, they share the same motifs and images. These striking parallels would suggest that there is a relation of literary dependence between the two sections or they might have been written by the same author.

4.5 IQH 15:9-28

4.5.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 7:6-25; SHR 190409

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 176-8

אודכה אדוני כי סמכתי בעוזכה ורוח 9
10 קודשכה הניפותה בי בל אמוט ותחזקני לפני מלחמות רשעה ובכול הוותם

- 11 [וא] החתתה מבריתכה ותשימי כמגדל עוז כחומה נשגבה ותכן על סלע
 12 מבניתי ואושי עולם לסודי וכול קירותי לחומת בון ללוא תִּדּוּעִי³⁶
 13 [ו]אתה אלי נתת³⁸ לעפִים³⁷ לעצת קודש ותן [בריתכה ולשוני כלמורדיך
 14 ואין פה לרוח הוות ולא מענה לשון לכול [ב]ני אשמה כי תאלמנה שפתי
 15 שפתי³⁹ שקר כי כול גרי למשפט תרשיע [ל]הבדיל בי בין צדיק לרשע
 16 כי אתה ידעתה כול יצר מעשה וכול מענה לשון הכרתה ותכן לבי
 17 [מורידה ובאמתכה לישר פעמי לנתיבות צדקה להתהלך לפניך בגבול
 18 [ם לשביל^ל כבוד {וחיים} ושלום לאין] [להשבת לנצח
 19 ואתה ידעתה יצר עבדכה כי לא] [ענתי להרים לן
 20 [ו]להעזי בכוח ומחסי בשר אין לי] [אין צדקות להנצל מפן
 21 [] [וא סליחה ואני נשענתי בן] [חסדכה אוחיל להציץ
 22 [] [שע ולגדל נצר להעזי בכוח ון] [צדקתכה העמדתני
 23 לבריתכה ואתמוכה באמתכה ואתן] [ותשימי אב לבני חסד
 24 וכאומן לאנשי מופת ויפצו פה כיוונן] [וכשעשע עולול בח ק
 25 אומניו ותרם קרני על כול מנאצי ויתפן] [ארות אנשי מלחמתי ובעלי
 26 רבי כמוץ לפני רוח וממשלתי על בן] [לי עזרתה נפשי ותרם קרני
 27 למעלה ורופעתי באןורן שבעתים בן] [נותה לכבודכה
 28 כי אתה לי למאור [עו]לם ותכן רגלי בן] [

9. I give you thanks, O Lord,
 for you have supported me with your strength,
 10. and the spirit of your holiness (10) you have spread over me that I will not stumble
 and you have strengthened me before the wars of wickedness
 11. and in all their destructions (11) you have [not] made me dismayed at your covenant,
 and you have set me as a strong tower, as a high wall,
 and you have founded my building upon a rock
 12. and eternal foundation as my base,
 and all my walls are like a tested wall that cannot be shaken.
 13. [And] you, my God, have made for the weary a council of holiness,
 and t[] your covenant,
 and my tongue as your disciples
 14. And there is no word for the spirit of destruction,
 nor a reply of the tongue for all the [so]ns of guilt,

³⁶ The ִ between ע and ד has been erased and is singled out for deletion with a dot above it. Another ִ has been inserted above and in between ד and ת, and thus the word should read תִּדּוּעִי. The same form also occurs in IQS 8:8. The immediate context of both occurrences would suggest that it may be derived from the root זוע "tremble, shake violently."

³⁷ Habermann (1960: 122) reads לענים. Some scholars render "branches," on the basis of IQH 14:18 (see Dupont-Sommer 1957: 58; Lohse 1971: 139; Maier 1960: 91; Mansoor 1961: 149; Vermes 1995: 211). However, the context seems to speak in favour of taking it as derived from the root יעף "be weary, faint" (see Carmignac 1961: 229; Holm-Nielsen 1960a: 129; Jeremias 1963: 181; Kittel 1981: 125).

³⁸ נתת referring to the third person is difficult to interpret. Dupont-Sommer (1957: 58), Bardtke (1956b: 601) and Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 129) retain this reading and refer the suffix back to the preceding unit. Some scholars have proposed to emend it to נתתני (Licht 1957: 124; Jeremias 1963: 181; Lohse 1971: 138; Kittel 1981: 123; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 178; Douglas 1998: 136). I have followed the emendation which is justified in the immediate context.

³⁹ Here is a case of dittography.

- for silent are lips of falsehood,
15. for all those who attack me you condemn at the judgement,
to separate through me between the righteous and the wicked.
16. For you know the inclination of every deed,
and every reply of the tongue you have discerned,
and you have established my heart [
17. [] *mwdykh* and according to your truth,
to straighten my steps on the paths of righteousness, to walk before you
18. in the border of (18) [] *m* to ways of glory and peace without [] to cease forever.
19. And you know the inclination of your servant,
for not [] *'nty* to lift up l[]
20. [and] to seek refuge in strength
and the shelter of the flesh without *ly*[]
there are no righteous deeds [] to be saved *mp*[
21. [] *w*' forgiveness.
And I lean *b*[],
your mercy I await, to blossom
22. [] *s'* and to make a shoot grow,
to seek refuge in strength
23. and [] your righteousness you have made me stand (23) for your covenant
and I have held firmly to your truth,
- and *at*[] and you have made me a father for the sons of mercy,
24. and as a guardian to the men of portent,
and they have opened (their) mouth as a chil[d],
25. and as a child delighting in the bosom of (25) its guardian.
And you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me,
and *ytp*[] *'rwt* the men of my warfare
26. and the lords of (26) my strife are like chaff before the wind
and my dominion over *b*[] *ly*
you have protected my soul,
27. and you have exalted my horn (27) on high,
and I shine with sevenfold li[ght],
b[] *mwth* for your glory.
28. For you are an [eter]nal light to me
and you have established my foot *b*[

4.5.2 Structure and Content

The usual paragraph indentations clearly mark off this hymn from the others in column 15. The standard introductory formula is indented to the middle of line 9 and the next one appears in line 29. The hymn is very well structured and the repetitive use of independent pronouns offers a good structural marker in the hymn. The independent pronoun **אני** occurs once in 15:21 while the pronoun **אתה** is found four times at the right-hand margin: **אתה אלי** (13), **כי אתה** (16), **אתה** (19), **כי אתה** (28). Douglas restores two **אתה אלי**: one on line 23, **אתה אלי בהרתניך**, and another one on line 26, **ביתי כי אתה אלי**.⁴⁰ His reconstructions would fit perfectly well

⁴⁰ Douglas (1998: 136-7).

into the inclusio structure he argues for: AAA^BAAA, where A is the אתה paragraphs (ll. 13, 16, 19, 23, 26, 28) and B is the ואני paragraph (21).⁴¹ Douglas usually gives reasons for his restorations but strangely he restores the two אתה אלי without giving any reasons this time. It would appear that Douglas, governed by the assumption of the use of inclusio in the “Teacher Hymns,” reads אתה אלי into the text!

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| A. 9-12: | Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving. |
| B. 13-21a: | God’s gracious dealing with the author consisting of three <u>אתה</u> paragraphs (ll. 13, 16, 19). |
| C. 21b-23a: | Declaration of trust in God beginning with <u>ואני</u> . |
| D. 23b-27: | God’s gracious dealing with the author in which the author is made a father to the righteous and is exalted above his enemies. |
| E. 28: | The conclusion in which the author declares his complete trust in God. |

Very striking is the use of inclusio in the hymn. In Section B, the phrase “reply of the tongue” (מענה לשון) in the first אתה paragraph is echoed in the second, where it says “every reply of the tongue” (כול מענה לשון) in 15:16. Likewise, the statement “you know the inclination of every deed” (אתה ידעתה כול יצר מעשה) in the second paragraph is echoed in the third by a similar statement, “you know the inclination of your servant” (אתה ידעתה יצר עבדכה). The use of repeated words and expressions tightly bind this section together. The same technique is employed to link sections B and C. The phrase להעזי בכוח “to seek refuge in strength” in 15:22 recalls the same phrase in 15:20. Finally, there is an internal inclusio within section D. In 15:25b, it says, “you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me” (ותרם קרני על כול מנאצי) and the same idea is found in 15:26d, “you have exalted my horn on high” (ותרם קרני למעלה).

There are a few uses of Scripture in the hymn. The combination of “a strong tower” (מגדל עוז) and “a high wall” (חומה נשגבה) in 15:11 is possibly taken from Pr 18:10-11, where the same combination is used. The statement “silent are lips of falsehood” (תאלמנה שפתי שקר) in 15:14-15 is likely to be taken from Ps 31:19 where the same statement is found. Finally, the expression “like chaff before the wind” (כמוץ לפני רוח) in 15:26 is an allusion to Ps 35:5.

4.5.3 Literary Affinity

Likewise, this hymn has a number of lexical similarities with 13:22-15:8. Worth noting are the frequent use of הוודה in these two hymns (13:27, 28; 14:6, 24; 15:8, 10,

⁴¹ Douglas (1998: 139).

14) and the military idioms they employ (14:31, 32, 34, 36, 38; 15:10, 25). The following words and phrases are found to be distinctive to these two hymns: בחן, מוט, שקר, גדל נצר, מבנית, זוע, שגב, שקר. שקר occurs only twice in the *Hodayot* and is found in these two hymns. Another significant linguistic correspondence between the two hymns is the use of the expression לגדל נצר. This expression occurs only in these two hymns and is not attested in the Bible nor elsewhere in the *Hodayot*.

- 15:14-15 כי תאלמנה שפתי שקר
for silent are lips of falsehood
- 13:28-29 וידברי בליעל פתחו לשון שקר כחמת תנינים
[and the words of Be]lial have opened a lying tongue as the venom of vipers
- 15:22 ולגדל נצר להעזי בכוח
and to make a shoot grow, to seek refuge in strength
- 14:18 לגדל נצר לעופי מטעת עולם
to make a shoot grow into branches of an eternal plantation

More importantly, the introductory section of this hymn has many significant parallels to 13:22-15:8, and particularly to section 14:27e-32a, as depicted below:

- 15:9-10 ורוח קודשכה הניפותה בי בל אמוט ותחזקני לפני מלחמות רשעה
and the spirit of your holiness you have spread over me that I will not stumble and you have strengthened me before the wars of wickedness
- 15:11-12 ותשימני כמגדל עז כחומה נשגבה
ותכן על סלע מבנתי ואושי עולם לסודי
וכול קירותי לחומת בחן ללוא תזדעזע
and you have set me as a strong tower, as a high wall
and you have founded my building upon a rock and eternal foundation as my base and all my walls are liked a tested wall that cannot be shaken.
- 14:27-28 ואהיה כבא בעיר מצור ונעזי בחומה נשגבה עד פלט
כי אתה תשים סוד על סלע
and I am as one who enters a fortified city
and seek refuge in a high wall until deliverance
for you set the foundation upon a rock
- 14:29-30 אבני בחן לן [] עזי ללוא תזדעזע וכול באיה בל ימוט
tried stones for strong [] that shall not be shaken,
and all those who enter it shall not stumble
- 14:31-32 עם תום כול חנרבות מלחמות רשעה
though all the [swords] of the wars of wickedness be destroyed
- 15:7 וירועו כול אושי מבנתי
and all the foundations of my building are shattered

These striking parallels between 15:10-12 and 14:27e-32a demonstrate that a relationship of literary dependence exists between these two sections. Likely, they might have been the work of the same author.

4.6.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 7:34-8:3; SHR 190409

1QH 15:37-39 = 4Q428 frg. 7:1-3

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 180

- 37 [אודכ]ה אדוני כי לוא הפלתה גורלי בעדת שו ובסוד נעלמים לא שמתה חוקי
 38 [ותקר]אני לחסדיכה ולסליח[ותיכה [ובחמון רחמיכה לכול משפטי
 39 [] הוריתי באשמת מעל [עולה ובחיק
 [1
 [2
 3 [צדקתכה תכון לעד כי לא]
 4 [דרכי⁴² תה
37. [I give you thanks], O Lord,
 for you have not cast my lot in the congregation of worthlessness,
 and in the council of the dissemblers you have not placed my prescribed portion.
 38. [But you have] called me to your lovingkindness
 and to [your] forgiveness []
 and in the abundance of your compassion for all the judgements of [
 39. [I have been cast in guilt of unfaithfulness] injustice, and in the bosom
 1.]
 2.]
 3. [] your righteousness is established forever, for not [
 4. [ways of]/th

4.6.2 Literary Affinity

Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, one cannot make too much of this hymn nor discern whether there is any relationship between this hymn and the other hymns within 1QH 10-17. There are only a few points this hymn may have in common with the hymns of Group II.

This hymn has two cases of correspondence with 11:20-37. In the opening line of the hymn, the author says, *כי לוא הפלתה גורלי בעדת שו* “for you have not cast my lot in the congregation of worthlessness”. The same combination of *נפל* and *גורל* is found in 11:23. Another correspondence between the two hymns is the use of the word *נעלמים* (15:37; 11:29). There is one linguistic correspondence between 15:37-16:4 and 13:22-15:8. The expression *עדת שו(א)* “the congregation of worthlessness” in 15:37 is found in 14:8. Finally, the phrase *בחיק* “in the bosom” occurs only four times in Group II (15:39; 15:24; 17:11, 36) and is unattested in the rest of the *Hodayot*.

⁴² This restoration is based on 4Q428 frg. 7:10.

4.7.1 Hebrew Text and Translation

Sukenik col. 8:4-9:36; SHR 190414, 190402

1QH 16:5-6 = 4Q428 frg. 7:11-12

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 180-4

- 5 אֲנִידְכָּה אֲדוֹנִי כִּי נִתְתַּנִּי⁴³ בְּמִקּוֹר נוֹזְלִים בִּיבֶשֶׁה וּמִבּוֹעַ מִים בְּאַרְץ צִיָּה וְ[מִשְׁקִי
 6 בֶּן] [מִטַּע בְּרוֹשׁ וְתִדְחָר עִם תְּאִשׁוּר יַחַד לִכְבוֹדְכָּה עֲצִי
 7 חַיִּים בְּמַעֲיָן רִז מְחֻבָּאִים בְּתוֹךְ כּוֹל עֲצִי מִים וְהָיוּ לְהַפְרִיחַ נֹצֵר לְמִטְעַת עוֹלָם
 8 לְהַשְׁרִישׁ טֶרֶם יִפְרִיחוּ וְשׁוֹרְשֵׁיהֶם לִיּוֹבֵל] יִשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּפְתַּח לָמִים חַיִּים וּגְזַעוּ
 9 וַיְהִי לְמִקּוֹר עוֹלָם וּבִנְצֵר עָלָיו יִרְעוּ כּוֹל [חֵית]⁴⁴ יַעַר וּמִרְמָס גִּיזְעוּ לְכָל עוֹבְרֵי
 10 דֶּרֶךְ וְדִלִּיתוֹ לְכָל עוֹף כֶּנֶף וִירְמוּ עָלָיו כּוֹל עֲנִיצִי] מִים כִּי בְּמִטְעָתָם יִתְשַׁגְּשְׁגוּ
 11 וְאֵל יוֹבֵל לֹא יִשְׁלַחוּ שׁוֹרֶשׁ וּמִפְרִיחַ נֹצֵר קִנְיָן] דֶּשׁ לְמִטְעַת אִמַּת סוֹתֵר בְּלוֹא
 12 נִחְשָׁב וּבְלֹא נֹדַע חוֹתֵם רִזוּ וְאִתְּנָה] אֵל שְׁכַתָּה בַּעַד פְּרִיז בְּרִז גְּבוּרֵי כּוֹחַ
 13 וְרוּחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ וְלֹחַט אֵשׁ מִתְּהַפֶּכֶת⁴⁵ בֶּל יִן] מַעֲיָן חַיִּים וְעַם עֲצִי עוֹלָם
 14 לֹא יִשְׁתַּח מִי קוֹדֶשׁ בֶּל יִנּוּבֵב פְּרִיז עִם] [עַ שְׁחָקִים כִּי רָאָה בְּלֹא הַכִּיר
 15 וַיַּחֲשׁוּב בְּלֹא הָאִמֵּן לְמִקּוֹר חַיִּים וַיִּתֵּן יִן] [חֶלֶם עוֹלָם וְאִנִּי הֵייתִי לְ[בִ]זְאִי⁴⁶ חֶרֶת
 16 שׁוֹטְפִים כִּי גִרְשׁוּ עָלֵי רַפְשָׁם
 17 וְאִתְּנָה אֵלֵי שְׁמַתָּה בְּפִי כִיּוֹרָה גֶּשֶׁם לְכוֹל] [וּמִבּוֹעַ מִים חַיִּים וְלֹא יִכּוֹב לְפִתּוֹחַ
 18 חֶשֶׁן] מִים לֹא יִמִּישׁוּ וַיְהִי לְנַחֵל שׁוֹטֵף עֵן] [מִים וְלִימִים לֵאמֹר חֵן
 19 פִּיתָאוֹם יִבְעִזוּ מְחֻבָּאִים בְּסֹתֵר] [וַיְהִי לֵן
 20 לֹחַ וַיִּבֶשׁ מִצּוֹלָה לְכוֹל חֵיהָ וְעֵן] [עוֹפֶרֶת בְּמִים אֲדִירִין
 21] [אֵשׁ וְשׁוֹ מִטַּע פְּרִי] [ר עוֹלָם לְעֶדֶן כְּבוֹד וּפֶרֶן
 22 וּבִידֵי פִתְחָתָהּ מִקּוֹרֶם עִם פְּלָגִין] [ם לְפָנוֹת עַל קֵן נִכּוֹן וּמִטַּע
 23 עֲצִיָּהֶם עַל מִשְׁקַלֹּת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לֹא] [נו לְפִאֶרֶת כְּבוֹד בְּהִנְפִי יָד לְעִזּוֹק
 24 פְּלָגִיו יִכּוּ שְׂרָשָׁיו בְּצוֹר חִלְמִישׁ וִן] [בְּאַרְץ גִּזְעָם וּבַעַת חוֹם יַעֲצוֹר
 25 מַעֲזוֹ וְאֵם אֲשִׁיב יָד יְהִיָּה כַּעֲרִן] [גִּזְעוּ כְּחֶרֶלִים בְּמִלְחָה וּפְלָגִיו
 26 יַעֲלֵ קֵין וְדִרְדֵּר לְשִׁמִּיר וְשִׁית] [שְׁפָתוֹ יִהְיֶה כְּעֲצִי בְּאוֹשִׁים לְפָנֵי
 27 חוֹם יִבּוֹל עָלָיו וְלֹא נִפְתַּח עִם מֵן] [מְגוֹר⁴⁷ עִם חוֹלִיִּים וּמֵן] [ע לֵן
 28 בְּגִנְיָעִים וְאִדְּהִיָּה כְּאִישׁ נִעֲזֹב בֵּן] [אֵין מַעֲזוֹ לִי כִּי פִנְיָן] ח נִגְעִי
 29 לְמִרְוִרִים וְכֹאִיֵּב אֲנוֹשׁ לֵאמֹר עֲצוֹר] [מָה עָלֵי כִיּוֹרְדֵי שְׁאוֹל וְעַם
 30 מֵתִים יִחַפֵּשׁ רוּחִי כִּי הִגִּיעוּ לְשַׁחַת חֵן] [תִּתְעַטֵּף נַפְשִׁי יוֹמָם וּלְלֵילָה

⁴³ The restoration of the introductory formula is based on 4Q428 frg. 7:11.⁴⁴ Most scholars restore חֵית (Bardtke 1956b: 715; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 236; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 182; Licht 1957: 134; Lohse 1971: 142; Jeremias 1963: 250; Maier 1960: 94).⁴⁵ Sukenik mistakenly transcribed מתהפכת here.⁴⁶ Most scholars restore ב after ל (Bardtke 1956b: 716; Delcor 1962: 204; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 180; Habermann 1960: 123; Licht 1957: 134; Lohse 1971: 142; Mansoor 1961: 155; Wallenstein 1957a: 2).⁴⁷ A few scholars interpret it as "terror, horror" (Bardtke 1956b: 717; Lohse 1971: 145; Jeremias 1963: 253; Maier 1960: 95; Wallenstein 1957a: 13).

31	לֹאִין מְנוּחַ וַיִּפְרַח כֹּאשׁ בּוֹעֵר עֲצוּר בַּן	[	עַד יִמִּימָה תּוֹאכֵל שְׁלֵבָתָה ⁴⁸	
32	לַחֲתָם כּוֹחַ לִקְצִים וּלְכֹלֹת בֶּשֶׂר עַד מוֹעֲדִים וַיִּתְּעוּפּוּ [עֲלִין] מִשְׁבָּרִים			
33	וּנִפְשִׁי עָלִי תִשְׁתַּוְּחַח לִכְלָה כִּי נִשְׁבַּת מַעֲזִי מְגוּיָתִי וַיִּגְר כְּמִים לְבִי וַיִּמַּס			
34	כְּדוֹנָג בֶּשֶׂרִי וּמַעֲזוֹ מוֹתָנִי הִיָּה לְבַהֲלָה וּתִשְׁבֵּר זְרוּעֵי מִקְנִיָּה] [לְהַנִּיף יָד			
35	35] [לִי נִלְכַּדָּה ⁴⁹ בְּכַבֵּל וַיִּלְכּוּ כְּמִים בְּרִכִּי וַאֲיִן לְשִׁלּוּחַ פֶּעַם וְלֹא מִצְעָד לִקְוֹל רִגְלִי			
36	36] [תִּקּוּן בִּזְקִי מִכְשׁוֹל וּלְשׁוֹן הַגְּבֵרָתָה בַּפִּנְיָ בְּלֹא נֶאֱסַפְּהָ וַאֲיִן לְהַנְדִּים			
37	37 קוֹלָן] [לְמוֹדִי] [לַחֲיוֹת רוּחַ כּוֹשְׁלִים וְלַעֲיֹת לְעֶאֱף דְּבַר נֶאֱלַם כּוֹל שְׁפָתֵי			
38	38] [בִּזְקִי מִשְׁפָּט ל...לְבִי פוֹתָן]אוּ בְּמִרְוֵרִי] [לְבַב...רִים מִמֶּשֶׁל			
39	39] [לִים וְאִין]שׁ חֲתַבֵּל]			
40	40] [נֶאֱלָמוּ כֹאִין]			
41	41] [אֲנוּשׁ לֹאִין]			
1	1] [אִפִּן]			
2	2] [עֲ] [תִנּוּם בְּלִילָה]			
3	3] [לֹאִין רַחֲמִים בֶּאֱף יַעֲזוּר קִנְיָה וּלְכֹלָה]			
4	4 מִשְׁבָּרִי מוֹת וּשְׁאוּל עַל יִצְוֵי עֲרִשִׁי בְּקִינָה תִּשָּׂא] [בְּקוֹל אֲנַחָה			
5	5 עֵינִי כַּעַשׁ בְּכַבֶּשֶׁן וּדְמַעֲתִי כְּנַחֲלִי מִים כְּלוֹ לְמִנוּחַ עֵינִי] [עַמֵּד לִי			
6	6 מִרְחוֹק וַחֲיִי מִצָּד וְאֲנִי מִשְׂאָה }א{לְמִשְׁוֹאָה וּמִמְכָּאוֹב לִנְגַע וּמַחְבָּלִים			
7	7 לְמִשְׁבָּרִים תִּשְׁוַחַח נִפְשִׁי בְּנִפְלְאוֹתֶיכָה וְלֹא הִזְנַחְתָּנִי בַּחֲסִדִּיכָה]מ[קִּין			
8	8 לִקֵּין תִּשְׁתַּנְעֵשׂ נִפְשִׁי בַּחֲמוֹן רַחֲמִיכָה וְאִשִּׁיבָה לְמַבְלְעִי דְּבַר			
9	9 וּלְמִשְׁתַּוְּחִיחִי בִּי תוֹכַחַת וְאַרְשִׁיעָה דִּינִי ⁵⁰ וּמִשְׁפָּטָה אֲצִדִּיק כִּי יִדְעָתִי			
10	10 בְּאַמְתַּכָּה וְאַבְחָרָה בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי וּבִנְגִיעֵי רִצִּיתִי כִּי יַחֲלָתִי לְחֲסִדִּיכָה וְתַתֵּן			
11	11 תַּחֲנָה בְּפִי עֲבַדְכָּה וְלֹא גַעֲרָתָה חַיִּי וּשְׁלוּמִי לֹא הִזְנַחְתָּה וְלֹא עֲזַבְתָּה			
12	12 תִּקּוּתִי וּלְפָנֵי נִגַע הַעֲמַדְתָּה רוּחִי כִּי אַתָּה יִסְדַּתָּה רוּחִי וְתַדַּע מִזְמָתִי			
13	13 וּבִצְרוּקוֹתֵי נַחֲמָתִי וּבִסְלִיחוֹת אֲשֶׁתַּעֲשֶׂע וְאַנְחַמָּה עַל פִּשְׁעִי רִאשׁוֹן			
14	14 וְאַדְעָה כִּיִּן יֵשׁ מִקּוֹה בַּחֲסִדִּיכָה וְתוֹחֲלָה בְּרֹב כּוֹחַכָּה כִּי לֹא יִצְדָּק			
15	15 כּוֹל בְּמִן]שְׁפָטָה וְלֹא יִן]רִבְכָּה אֲנוּשׁ מֵאֲנוּשׁ יִצְדָּק וְגִבֹּר] [
16	16 יִשְׁכִּיל וּבֶשֶׂר מִיִּצֵּר]חֲמַר[יִכְבֵּד וְרוּחַ מְרוּחַ תִּגְבֵּר וּכְגֹב] אִין			
17	17 בְּכּוֹחַ וּלְכַבּוּדָּה אִין] [לְחַכְמַתְכָּה אִין מְדָה וְלֹא] [
18	18 וּלְכּוֹל הַנֶּעֱזֹב מִמֶּנָּה] [וְאֲנִי בְכָה חֲצִין] [
19	19 עַמְדִּי וְלֹא הִין] [שִׁין] [
20	20 וּכְזוּמָם לִי תִין] [וְאִם לְבוּשֶׁת פָּנִים כּוֹן] [
21	21 לִי וְאַתָּה בִּרְן] [תִּגְבֵּר צָרִי עָלִי לְמַכְשׁוֹל לִן] [
22	22 אֲנוּשִׁי מִלְחָמָן] [שֶׁת פָּנִים וּכְלָמָה לְנִרְגָּנִי בִי			
23	23 כִּי אַתָּה אֱלֹהִי לִמִּן] [תִּרְיֵב רִיבִי כִּי בְרוֹז חֲכַמְתְּכָה הוֹכַחְתָּה בִּי			
24	24 וְתַחֲבֹא אֲמַת לִקִּין] [מוֹעֲדוֹ וְתִהְיֶה תוֹכַחְתְּכָה לִי לְשִׁמְחָה וּשְׁשׁוֹן			
25	25 וּנְגִיעֵי לְמִרְפָּא עֲן] [נִצָּח וּבּוֹז צָרִי לִי לְכִלְיִל כְּבוֹד וּכְשִׁלוֹנִי לְגִבּוּרָת			
26	26 עוֹלָם כִּי בִשְׁן] [וּבְכַבּוּדָּה הוֹפִיעַ אֲוִרִי כִּי מֵאוּר מַחוּשָׁךְ			

⁴⁸ Read as שלֵבָתָה.

⁴⁹ Sukenik suggested ב for the first letter but it looks more like a נ (see also Lohse 1971: 144; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 182).

⁵⁰ Sukenik transcribed a final ן but the letter appears to be more like a י if one compares it with the final י of וּבִנְגִיעֵי on the following line. The context also speaks in favour of this reading (see also Dupont-Sommer 1957: 70; Delcor 1962: 214; Lohse 1971: 146; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 182).

27 האירותה לני
 28 עולם בצרת נפל
 29 אחסיה מכול מן
 30 ידעתי ומרחם
 31 עלי ובחיק אומנתי
 32 ובאמת נכון סמכתי וברוח קודשכה תשעשעני ועד היום
 33 ותוכחת צדקכה עם
 34 רוב סליחות והמון
 35 אבי לא ידעני ואמי עליכה עזבתני כי אתה אב לכול
 36 עליהם כמרחמת על עולה וכאומן בחיק תכלכל לכול מעשניכה

5. I [give you thanks, O Lord],
[for you have] set me in the fountain of streams in a dry land,
and a spring of waters in a parched land,
6. and irrigation of (6) garden.
[] a plantation of cypress and elm with box-tree together for your glory.
7. Trees of (7) life at the spring of mystery,
hidden in the midst of all the trees of waters
and they shall make a shoot grow to eternal plantation,
8. taking root before they sprout,
and their roots stretch out to the stre[am],
and its stump opens to the living waters,
9. and it becomes an eternal fountain,
and on the sprouting of its foliage graze all [the animals] of the forest,
10. and its stump is a trampling-place for all those who pass over (10) the path,
and its foliage for all winged birds,
and all the t[rees] of waters tower over it,
for in their planting they grow tall
11. although they do not stretch (their) root to the stream.
And he who makes the ho[ly] shoot grow into a plantation of truth,
12. hidden, not (12) esteemed, and that the seal of its mystery shall not be known. *vacat*

And y[ou, O G]od, have hedged in its fruit with the mystery of mighty warriors
13. and spirits of holiness and the blazing flame of fire will not y[fo]untain of life,
14. and with everlasting trees (14) it will not drink waters of holiness,
its fruit does not flourish with []' the clouds,
for it sees, without recognizing
15. and it reckons without putting faith in the fountain of life,
and it gives y[]...h eternal
But I have become the [moc]kery of overflowing streams,
16. for they have cast up their mire over me. *vacat*

17. And you, my God, you have put in my mouth
as showers of early rain for all []
and a spring of living waters
and the he[aven] will not deceive about opening up,
18. they do not depart but become an overflowing torrent '[] waters
and to seas without h[].
19. Suddenly they spring forth from the hiding places in secret,
[] and they shall become /[]
20. green and dry, the deep for every animal
and '[] lead in mighty waters
21. [] fire and they are dried up,
And a plantation of fruit []r eternal, to a glorious Eden and pr[].

22. And by my hand you have opened their spring with channels[]*m*,
to turn against the established line
23. and a plantation of (23) their trees to the plumbline of the sun / '[]*mw* to a glorious bough.
When I stretch (my) hand to dig out its channels,
24. its roots strike into the flintstone
and their stump [] into the earth
25. and in the time of heat it retains (25) (its) strength
and when I withdraw (my) hand,
it becomes like *k'r*[],
its stump like nettles in a salty ground
26. and its channels (26) shall cause thorn and thistles to grow,
into a thorn thicket and a thorn-bushes []*šptw*,
they are turned as stinking trees
27. before (27) the heat its foliage withers
and it does not open itself with *m*[],
a dwelling place is with the sick,
and *m*[]' / []
28. with plagues.
And I am like a forsaken man *b*[],
there is no refuge for me;
29. for my [plague breaks] forth (29) to bitterness
and an incurable pain without restraint,
[]*mh* over me as those who descend to Sheol,
30. and among (30) the dead my spirit searches,
for they reach to the pit *h*[]
31. my soul languishes day and night (31) without rest,
and it breaks forth as a burning fire shut *b*[]
unto the seas the flame consumes,
32. making an end of strength by periods,
and destroying flesh until the appointed times.
Breakers rush [against me]
33. And my soul is cast down within me to destruction,
for my strength ceases from my body,
and my heart pours out like water,
34. and my flesh dissolves like wax,
and the strength of my loins is turned into dismay
and my arm is broken from its joint,
[]*n* to lift my hand,
35. []*ly* is caught in shackles,
and my knee gives way like water,
and it is not possible to take a step
and there is no step to the sound of my feet,
36. []*tw* with fetters of stumbling-block
and my tongue you have made strong in [my] mouth without being restrained,
and it is not possible to []
37. voice []*n* my instruction []
to give life to the spirit of those who stumble,
and to support the weary with a word.
38. Silent are all the lips of (38) []
with fetters of judgement *l...lby pwt*[]'*w* in bitterness *lbb...rym* dominion
39. []*lym w*'[]*š* the world []
40. [] they have been made dumb as nought
41. [] man / '[]

Column 17

1. []'*p*[]
2. []'[] slumber at night []
3. [] without compassion.

- In anger it arouses jealousy,
 4. and to destruction [] (4) breakers of death
 and Sheol is upon the couch of my bed,
 in lament you lift [] in voice of groaning;
 5. my eyes are like a moth⁵¹ in a kiln
 and my tears like torrents of water,
 my eyes fail to rest,
 6. [] stands (6) a distance from me
 and my life is on one side.

- And as for me, from devastation to desolation,
 and from pain to plague,
 7. and from pangs (7) to breakers,
 my soul meditates upon your wonders,
 and you have not rejected me in your lovingkindness,
 8. [from] time (8) to time my soul re[jo]ices in the abundance of your compassion.
 and I will give a reply to those who engulf me,
 9. and a reproof to those who are casting me down.
 And I condemn my own judgement,
 but your judgement I declare righteous,
 10. for I know (10) your truth.
 And I have chosen my judgement
 and in my affliction I have found pleasure
 for I wait for your mercy.
 11. And you have given (11) a plea for favour in the mouth of your servant,
 and you have not rebuked my life,
 and my well-being you have not spurned
 12. and you have not forsaken (12) my hope
 but in the face of affliction you have made my spirit stand.

- For you have established my spirit
 and you know my thought
 13. and in my distress you have comforted me,
 and I delight in forgiveness,
 and I repent over past transgression,
 14. and I know th[at] there is hope in your [me]rcy,
 and expectation in the abundance of your strength.
 15. For none is justified (15) in your ju[dge]ment and not y[]rybkh,
 one man is more righteous than another man,
 and a man wiser than [],
 16. and flesh is more honoured than one formed [of clay],
 and one spirit more stronger than the other,
 and kgb[]
 17. there is none (17) in power,
 and for your glory there is none [],
 for your wisdom there is no measure,
 and not []
 18. and for everyone who has been forsaken from it []

⁵¹ Habermann (1960: 124) prefers to read כַּעַשׁ (see also Bardtke 1956b: 718; Mansoor 1961: 158; Delcor 1962: 212). Thorion-Vardi (1983: 429-30), applying the phenomenon of parallelismus membrorum, suggests to read כָּאֵשׁ for כַּעַשׁ and translates "My eyes (are) like fire in a furnace and my tears like water streams". Arguing against Thorion-Vardi's translation, Nebe (1985: 115-8) takes עַשׁ as having the meaning "Finsternis" on the basis of Ps 6:8 and 1QH 13:34-36, rendering "mein Auge ist wie Dunkelheit in einem (oder: durch einen) Schmelzofen." Puech (1993: 343) follows Thorion-Vardi's translation. Without any emendation, עַשׁ is here taken as ע + שׁ.

- But I, in you, *hš*[]
19. my place of standing and not *h*[] *šy*[]
20. and as one who has devised against me *t*[]
and when for shame of face *kw*[]
21. for me and you *br*[] *tgbr* my enemy against me to stumbling-block *l*[]
22. men of *mlhm*[] *št* faces and insult for those who slander me. *vacat*
23. For you, my God, *lm*[]
you contend my case.
For with the mystery of your wisdom you rebuke me
24. and you have concealed the truth *lq*[] its appointed time
and your reproof has become to me joy and gladness,
25. and my plague to healing '' *nšh*
and the contempt of my enemy to a glorious ornament for me,
and my stumbling to eternal strength.
26. For *bš*[]
and by your glory my light shines forth,
27. for light out of darkness (27) you have caused to shine for [me] *š* my blow,
and for my stumbling a wonderful strength,
28. and an eternal [expanse] (28) in the distress of *np**l*[],
my refuge, my sure defense, the rock of my strength and my fortress.
29. In you (29) I seek refuge from all *m*[] to deliverance for me forever. *vacat*
30. For you, since my father, (30) have known me,
and from the womb [] my mother you have dealt bountifully toward me,
and from the breast of the one who conceived me
31. your compassion has been (31) upon me,
and in the bosom of my guardian []
and from my youth you have revealed yourself to me in the insight of your righteousness,
32. and with certain truth you have sustained me.
and by the spirit of your holiness you have made me glad
and until this day []
33. and the reproof of your righteousness is with [] *wty*
and your complete protection for the deliverance of my soul,
34. and with my step is (34) the abundance of forgiveness
and the abundance of [com]passion when you judge me,
and until old age you sustain me
35. for (35) my father did not know me
and my mother has abandoned me to you,
for you are a father to all [the sons of] your truth
36. and you rejoice (36) over them like a mother over her child,
and like a guardian you sustain all your creatures in (your) bosom.

4.7.2 Structure and Content

As to whether 16:5-17:36 is one long hymn, scholars are not unanimous. While most scholars consider it as a single block of material,⁵² others take columns 16 and 17 as two compositions.⁵³ The bottom margin of column 16 and the top margin of column 17 are poorly preserved and it is possible that the introduction to the hymn in

⁵² Carmignac (1961: 236-47), Douglas (1998: 153-34), Holm-Nielsen (1960a: 169-70), Morawe (1961: 123), Puech (1993: 339), Tanzer (1986: 116-7), Wallenstein (1957a).

⁵³ Becker (1963: 52), Dupont-Sommer (1957: 62-73), Jeremias (1963: 249-261), Kuhn (1966: 23), Licht (1957: 131), Schulz (1974: 27).

column 17 might have been lost in 16:39-17:2, where the lacunae are large enough for an opening formula. It has also been suggested that columns 16 and 17 are different in content. Column 16 primarily focuses on the image of plantation whereas column 17 gives a portrayal of the author's misery.

There is some literary evidence in support of the unity of 16:5-17:36. One should not overlook the shift in theme already taken place at the beginning of 16:28, in which the author starts to describe his own misery. There are a number of key words that would link these two columns together. The word נגע "affliction" occurs twice in 16:28 and again in 17:6, 10, 12, 25. The word משברים "breakers" appears in 16:32 and then in 17:4, 7. Similarly, שאול "Sheol" occurs in 16:29 and again in 17:4. On literary grounds there is nothing to prevent column 17 continuing column 16.

There are two good structural markers in this hymn. One fairly obvious marker is the use of *vacats* to end a unit and introduce a new one. For instance, at line 16:16, the line is completed some distance before the left-hand margin. It seems logical to assume that a new unit begins at 16:17. Another structural device is the use of independent pronouns which occur frequently in the hymn and are set off by spacing. The structure of the hymn is as follows:

- A. 5-6d: Introduction and grounds for thanksgiving.
- B. 6e-16: Plantation Imagery – Trees, Shoot, Stem.
- C. 17-28a: Plantation Imagery – Rain, Gardener, beginning with ואתה אלי
- D. 28b-17:6a: Description of the author's distress beginning with ואהיה
- E. 17:6b-18a: Description of the author's trust in God beginning with ואני
- F. 17:18b-29b: Description of the author's victory over his enemies beginning with ואני.
- G. 17:29c-36: God's gracious dealing with the author beginning with כי אתה.

The first major section consists of a number of images and key words: מים 'waters' (ll. 5, 7, 8, 10, 14), מטעה/מטע 'plantation' (ll. 6, 7, 10, 11), עץ 'tree' (ll. 6, 7, 10, 13), חיים 'life' (ll. 7, 8, 13, 15), מקור 'fountain' (ll. 5, 9, 15), נצר 'shoot' (ll. 7, 9, 11), פרח 'sprouting' (ll. 7, 8, 11), גזע 'stem' (ll. 8, 9), פרי 'fruit' (ll. 12, 14). Very striking is the use of different words for the source of waters: מקור, מבוע, מעין, יובל. Jeremiah is certainly right in pointing out that "source" and "planting" are the key concepts in this hymn.⁵⁴

A new section begins at 16:17 and is marked off by the paragraph spacing and the phrase ואתה אלי. This section continues to use the water imagery and links to the

⁵⁴ See Jeremiah (1963: 256).

preceding section by repeating the following key terms: מים (ll. 17, 18, 20), מטע (ll. 21, 22), עץ (ll. 23, 26), מקור (22), גזע (ll. 23, 25), פרי (21). It also describes the water as מבווע מים חיים 'a spring of living water,' echoing the expression מבווע מים in the introduction. Similarly, the phrase נהרות שוטפים "overflowing streams" in 16:15d-16a is echoed in 16:18b, לנחל שוטף "an overflowing torrent." The motif of hiddenness appears at line 19, where it says "Suddenly those hidden in secret (מחובאים בסתר) will spring forth", recalling the same motif in 16:7, "the mystery hidden (מחובאים) in the midst of all the trees of waters" and 16:11, "he who makes the holy shoot grow into a plantation of truth, hidden (סותר)."

From line 28 onwards, the plantation imagery is no longer used and the portrayal of the author's suffering comes to the fore. This shift in theme gives an indication of a new unit. It is possible that an independent pronoun אני may have lost in the lacuna on line 27.⁵⁵ If this is the case, the new section would begin at the middle of line 27. This section is characterised by the use of bodily language such as heart, flesh, knee, arm, tongue, eye, etc.

Section E begins with אני at 17:6. In stark contrast to the previous section, this one strikes a note of rejoicing because the author knows that God has not forsaken him. The author has placed his trust in God even in the midst of distress and misery. This section contains a soteriological confession introduced by the formula כי ואדעה at line 14, where the author describes the incomparable knowledge of God.

With another אני, section F shifts the focus to the author and his relationship with the enemies. A completely different set of vocabulary is used: צרי "my enemy," מכושול "stumbling," בושת "shame," כלמה "insult," בוז "contempt." Interestingly, the final section introduces another new set of vocabulary: אב "father," אם "mother," חיק "bosom," אומן "guardian," עול "child," כול "sustain." It is to be noted that none of these terms is used in the preceding sections.

4.7.3 Literary Affinity

Besides its close affinity with 11:20-37 and 13:22-15:8, this hymn has a number of correspondences with 11:1-19.

16:20	<u>מצולה לכול חיה</u> the deep for every animal
11:15	<u>וחכמיהם למו כמלחים במצולות</u> and for them their wise men are like sailors in the deeps
17:4	<u>משברי מות ושאול על יצועי ערשי</u> breakers of death and Sheol is upon the couch of my bed

⁵⁵ Cf. Douglas (1998: 145), Licht (1957: 138), Mansoor (1961: 156), Wallenstein (1957a: 4).

- 11:9 כִּיָּא בָּאוּ בָּנִים עַד מִשְׁבְּרֵי מוֹת
for children have come to the waves of death
- 11:10 כִּיָּא בַּמִּשְׁבְּרֵי מוֹת תִּמְלִיט זָכָר
for in the waves of death she gives birth to a male
- 17:30-31 וּמִשְׁרֵי הָרוֹתִי רַחֲמֶיךָ עָלַי
and from the breast of the one who conceived me
your compassion has been upon me
- 11:12 וּפְלִצוֹת לְהָרוֹתָם
and terror to those conceiving them.
- 17:6-7 וְאֲנִי מִשְׂאָה לְמִשְׂאָה וּמִמַּכְאוֹב לְנֹגַע וּמִחֲבָלִים לְמִשְׁבָּרִים
and as for me, from devastation to desolation, and from pain to plague, and
from pang to breakers
- 11:10 וְהָרִית גֹּבֵר הַצָּרָה בַּחֲבָלֶיהָ
and she that is pregnant with the man suffers anguish in her pangs

Finally, 16:5-17:36 shows a few shared lexical units with 15:9-28.

- 16:37 נָאֵלָם כּוֹל שְׁפִתִּי ...
Silent are all the lips of ...
- 15:14-15 כִּי תֵאֻלְמָנָה שְׁפִתִּי שִׁקָּר
for silent are the lips of falsehood
- 17:10 כִּי יַחֲלִיתִי לְחַסְדִּיכָה
for I wait for your mercy
- 15:21 חַסְדְּכָה אֶיִחַל
your mercy I await
- 17:31 וּבְחִיק אֹמְנָתִי
and in the bosom of my guardian
- 17:36 וּכְאֹמֶן בְּחִיק תְּכַלְכֵּל לְכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂינִי כָה
and like a guardian you sustain all your creatures in (your) bosom
- 15:24 וּכְאֹמֶן לְאֲנָשֵׁי מוֹפֵת
and as a guardian to the men of portent
- 15:24-25 וּכְשַׁעֲשַׁע עוֹלֹל בְּחִיק אֹמְנִיו
and as a child delighting in the bosom of its guardian

4.8 Conclusion

Among the hymns in this group, 13:22-15:8 is the one that has numerous lexical similarities with all the other hymns. The lexical units these hymns have in common are quite different from those found in the other group. In these hymns the enemies of the author disappear and are no longer in the picture. A new set of terms and phrases are used, referring not to persons but to things, such as ship, city, plant, etc. Prominent among these hymns is the distress motif. All lexical and syntactic units shared by and distinctive to these hymns are summarized in the following table.

<i>Common Lexical Items</i>	<i>11:1-19</i>	<i>11:20-37</i>	<i>13:22-15:8</i>	<i>15:9-28</i>	<i>16:5-17:36</i>	<i>11:38-12:5</i>	<i>15:37-16:4</i>
כול חצי שחת	17	27					
אוש	14	31, 36					
חוש	11		14:32				
אניה	7, 14		14:25 15:7				
מלח	15		14:25				
עיר	8		14:28				
מבצר	8		14:38				
ציר	12		13:32				
שער	18		14:27, 34				
ברית	19		14:31				
דלת	19		14:30				
חבל	10		13:32		17:6		
עוף		28			16:32		
נחל		30, 32, 33			16:18 17:5		
יבש + לח		30			16:20		
חלמיש		32			16:24		
ואדעה כיא יש מקוה		21			17:14		
גרש + רפש		33			16:16		
הווה		26, 34, 35	13:27, 28 14:6, 24 15:7, 8	15:10, 14			
משפט + קן		28	14:29				
שביב		31	14:21				
אפף		29	13:41				
חומה			13:39			11:38	
בל יבוא			14:31, 38			11:40	
על סלע			14:29	15:11		12:4	
פרח			13:29 14:18		16:7, 8, 11 16:28, 31		
אש + בער			14:21		16:31		
עור			14:32		17:3		
שטף			14:38		16:16, 18		
כאיב אנוש			13:30		16:29		
מנוס			13:31 14:36		17:28		
שאה + משאה			13:32		17:6		
דמעה			13:36		17:5		
זק			13:39		16:36, 38		
נצר + מטעת עולם			14:18		16:7		
נהר			14:19		16:15		
משקלת			14:29		16:23		
שבר + קנה			15:5		16:34		
להחם כוח			13:30		16:32		
מקור עולם			14:20-1		16:9		
מוט			14:24, 30	15:10			
בחן + זוע			14:30	15:12			
שקר			13:29	15:15			
חומה נשגבה			14:28	15:11			
מבנית + אוש			15:8	15:12			

<i>Common Lexical Items</i>	<i>11:1-19</i>	<i>11:20-37</i>	<i>13:22-15:8</i>	<i>15:9-28</i>	<i>16:5-17:36</i>	<i>11:38-12:5</i>	<i>15:37-16:4</i>
מלחמות רשעה			14:32	15:10			
נפל + גרל		23					15:37
נעלמים		29					15:37
עדת שוא			14:8				15:37
חיק				15:24	17:31, 36		15:39
המון רחמים			14:12		17:8, 34		15:38
מצולה	15				16:20		
משברי מות	9, 10				17:4		
הרה	12				17:30		
אלם + שפה				15:14	16:37		
חסד + יחל				15:21	17:10		
אומן				15:24, 25	17:31, 36		
בל			14:24, 30 14:31, 38	15:10	16:13, 14	11:40	

A few comments are appropriate here. The fragmentary nature of the text in 11:38-12:5 and 15:37-16:4 makes it quite difficult to draw any definite conclusion as to how close these two hymns are to the other five hymns of Group II. Suffice it to say that they show a small number of similarities with 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36.

In addition to the lexical units mentioned in the table, these hymns make use of a number of terms so characteristic of the "Community Hymns". **אֵין**, occurring 67 times in the *Hodayot*, is found in four of the hymns here: 4 times in 11:20-37; 18 times in 13:22-15:8; 4 times in 15:9-28; 11 times in 16:5-17:36. Likewise, the preposition **עם** occurs 63 times in the *Hodayot* and is found 6 times in 11:20-37 and 9 times each in 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36. **עולם**, occurring 55 times in the *Hodayot* but never appears in Group I, is found in six of the hymns here: 2 times in 11:1-19; 4 times in 11:20-37; once in 11:38-12:5; 5 times in 13:22-15:8; 2 times in 15:9-28; 8 times in 16:5-17:36. **בשר** occurs 23 times in the *Hodayot*, 18 of which appear outside of columns 10-17. It is found once in 15:9-28 and three times in 16:5-17:36. Similarly, **שלום** occurs 9 times in the *Hodayot* and is found once in 15:9-28 and twice in 16:5-17:36. **עפר**, occurring 29 times in the *Hodayot* but never in Group I, is found once each in 11:1-19 and 11:20-37 and twice in 13:22-15:8. **חמר** occurs 10 times in the *Hodayot* and is found twice in 11:20-37. Finally, **ספר** occurs 16 times in the *Hodayot* and is found once in 11:20-37 and 13:22-15:8.

As mentioned before, the correction made on the introductory formula would suggest that 13:22-15:8, as far as the second scribe is concerned, is less of a "Teacher Hymn." 13:22-15:8 does contain lexical and stylistic features characteristic of the "Community Hymns;" nonetheless, one cannot so neatly separate this long hymn into sections and identify a section as having materials adapted from "Community Hymns." It would appear that the numerous lexical elements 13:22-15:8 shares with

the other hymns are clustered around 13:30-14:8 and 14:25-15:8. These are the sections where the distress of the author is vividly portrayed. This is also the case with 16:5-17:36. The distress motif takes place towards the end of column 16, and surprisingly, this is where the shared lexical units surface. Furthermore, the hymns of Group II, with the exception of 15:9-28 and the two fragmentary hymns, contain strong apocalyptic imagery which emphasizes the destruction of the wicked and the reward for the righteous.⁵⁶ It is quite true that earthly suffering will make one look for heavenly hope. Notable among the hymns of Group II is that the distress motif and the apocalyptic imagery are closely tied together. These two features clearly stand out in Group II and make it distinguished from the hymns of Group I.

That Group I shows a lack of use of these lexical elements should not go unmentioned. Is it then a coincident that these lexical units are found in Group II? On the one hand, it gives further evidence that the hymns of Group II are closely tied together as they share to a certain extent a few common stylistic features; on the other, it raises the question as to how close the hymns of Group II are to Group I.

⁵⁶ The eschatological material in Group II may be designated "apocalyptic eschatology". Collin's observation (1992a: 281) is elucidating at this point: "Common to both [prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic eschatology] is the belief that, in accordance with divine plan, the adverse conditions of the present world would end in judgment of the wicked and vindication of the righteous, thereby ushering in a new era of prosperity and peace."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REDACTIONAL SHAPE OF 1QH 10-17:36

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, 1QH 10-17:36 can be further classified into two major groups, each with its own distinctive traits of vocabulary, style, and content. Group I consists of 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6, and 13:7-21 while Group II comprises 11:1-19, 11:20-37, 11:38-12:5, 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, 15:37-16:4, and 16:5-17:36. Although Group I and II employ different sets of lexical units, these are not mutually exclusive. The hymns do have a number of points in common. Before discussing the redactional shape of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, the relationship of Group I to Group II must be explored. The following will outline any linguistic parallels each of the hymns of Group I has to the hymns of Group II.

5.1 *Relationship between Group I and II*

5.1.1 *1QH 10:1-21*

10:1-21 has a few lexical similarities with 11:1-19. These two hymns make use of the following theme words: רגש, קול, המון, מים, גל.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 10:14 | <u>ועלי קהלת רשעים תתרגש ויהמו כנחשולי ימים בהרגש גליהם</u>
and the assembly of the wicked rages against me,
and they roar like the storms of the seas when their waves rush forth |
| 10:18 | <u>[אנ]שי רמיה עלי יחמו כקול המון מים רבים</u>
[m]en of deceit roar against me like the sound of the din of many waters. |
| 11:14 | <u>ויהמו שחקים בקול המון</u>
<u>ויושבי עפר כיורדי ימים נבעתים מהמון מים</u>
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound
and those who dwell on the dust are like those going down to the seas,
terrified by the roar of the waters. |
| 11:16-17 | <u>[ויתרג]שו לרום גלים ומשברי מים בהמון קולם ובהתרגשם</u>
[and] they [rush for]th to lift up waves and breakers of waters with the
roaring of their noise, and when they rush forth |

It is worth mentioning that the verb רגש is distinctive to these two hymns, occurring only three times in the *Hodayot*, twice in 10:1-21 and once in 11:1-19. Most important is the fact that their shared lexical units are all clustered in the sections where the imagery of chaotic water is used. There is however a marked

difference between the two. The chaotic water imagery is used to describe the attack of the enemies in 10:1-21 while in 11:1-19 the imagery is likely to do with the eschatological judgement of the wicked.

10:1-21 has a close linguistic affinity with 11:20-37. The use of גרש and רפש with the verbal form ויהמו is found in these two hymns:

- 10:14-15 ויהמו כנחשולי ימים בהרגש גליהם רפש וטיט יגרישו
and they roar like the storms of the seas
when their waves rush forth,
mire and mud they cast up
- 11:33 ויהמו מחשבי תהום בהמון גורשי רפש
and the devices of the deep roar with the din of those casting out mud

A linguistic parallel can be drawn between 10:1-21 and 13:22-15:8. It is also found in their use of the terminology of the chaotic water imagery. In 10:14 the author says, “and they roar like the storms of the seas when their waves rush forth” (ויהמו כנחשולי ימים בהרגש גליהם). The same idea appears in 14:26, “their waves and all their breakers have roared against me” (וגליהם וכול משבריהם עלי המו).

10:1-21 and 15:9-28, drawing on the language of Pr 16:1, both employ the expression מענה לשון “reply of the tongue” (10:9; 15:14, 16). There is a linguistic and thematic correspondence between 10:1-21 and 16:5-17:36. In 10:14d-15 it says, “mire and mud they cast up” (רפש וטיט יגרישו). A similar use of רפש and גרש is found in 16:16, “for they have cast up their mire over me” (כי גרשו עלי רפשם). In short, 10:1-21 has a few parallels to Group II, primarily in the section where the chaotic water imagery is used.

5.1.2 IQH 10:22-32

10:22-32 and 11:1-19 share a lexical unit distinctive to them. The word אפעה “viper, wickedness” occurs 4 times in the *Hodayot* and is found only in these two hymns (10:30; 11:13, 18, 19). Again, the chaotic water imagery is used in the hymns:

- 10:29a, 30b וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם ... בהתרומם גליהם
and like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice ...
when their waves splash up
- 11:14 ויהמו שחקים בקול המון
ויושבי עפר כיורדי ימים נבעתים מהמון מים
and the clouds roar with a roaring sound
and those who dwell on the dust are like those going down to the seas,
terrified by the roar of the waters.
- 11:16-17 [ויתרג] שו לרום גלים ומשברי מים בהמון קולם ובהתרגשם
[and] they [rush for]th to lift up waves and breakers with the roaring of
their noise, and when they rush forth

10:22-32 and 11:20-37 have three lexical units distinctive to them: להרוב (10:28; 11:31), בקע (10:29; 11:33), מישור (10:31; 11:21).¹ The firing of arrows, a motif occurred in 11:1-19 and 11:20-37, is also found in 10:28. Notable is the striking parallel between 10:28 and 11:28, 30:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 10:28 | <u>ויפרו חצים לאין מרפא ולהרוב חנית כאש אוכלת עצים</u>
and arrows have burst forth without cure
and a flaming spear with fire which consumes trees |
| 11:28 | <u>בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין חשב ויפרו לאין תקוה</u>
when all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning
and they burst forth without hope |
| 11:30 | <u>כאש אוכלת בכול שנאביהם להתם כול עץ</u>
like fire consuming all their watering places, to destroy every tree |

10:22-32 has two close linguistic affinities with 13:22-15:8. In 10:28, the author uses the expression “weapons of war” (כלי מלחמות), which is also found in 14:31 and 14:34. Their contexts, however, are slightly different. The expression is used to portray the fierce attack of the enemies in 10:28 whereas in 14:31 and 14:34 it is placed in the context where the eschatological warfare is described. Another close parallel between these two hymns is the use of המון and שאון. The collocation of these two words is found only in these two hymns.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 10:29 | <u>וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם</u>
and like the roar of many waters is the din of their voice |
| 14:10 | <u>ואנחמה על המון עם ועל שאון מנמלכות</u>
and I will take comfort above the roar of the people
and above the din of [king]doms. |

The most notable affinity between 10:22-32 and 13:22-15:8 is the prominent use of independent pronouns: אני (10:27, 30; 13:24, 15:4) and המה (10:24, 25; 13:28, 14:22). 13:22-15:8 has a feature characteristic of Group I, that is, the use of המה in describing the author’s enemies. In 13:28, the author says, “and as for them, they devise destruction in their heart, [and the words of Be]lial have opened a lying tongue” (והמה הוות לבם יחשובו [ודברי ב]ליעל פתחו לשון שקר). Another occurrence is in 14:22, where it says “And they, the ones who were pledged to my witness, have been seduced” (והמה נצמדתי פתחו). In sum, 10:22-32 has close correspondences to Group II in the section where the military motif and the chaotic water imagery are used.

5.1.3 IQH 10:33-41

Using biblical terminology, 10:33-41 and 11:20-37 have the phrase נפש אביון

¹ מישור may be the word towards the end of 15:28 but it is uncertain.

“the soul of the poor” (10:34; 11:26). A significant correspondence can be drawn between 10:33-41 and 15:9-28. In 10:37-38 the author says, “with their taunt you have not made me dismayed, so as to abandon your service for fear of destructions” (ובגדפותם לא החתיתני לעזוב עבודתכה מפחד חוות). A similar statement is found in 15:10-11 where it says, “and in all their destructions you have [not] made me dismayed at your covenant” (ובכול חוותם לא החתתה מבריתכה).

5.1.4 IQH 12:6-13:6

A significant correspondence between 12:6-13:6 and 11:1-19 is האירותה פני “you have enlightened my face” (12:6; 11:4). 12:6-13:6 has three lexical similarities with 11:20-37. נעלמים “dissemblers,” occurring only three times in the *Hodayot*, is found in 12:14 and 11:29. The same word is used in 15:37. Another correspondence between these two hymns is the word חלכאים “scoundrels,” which occurs only in 12:26, 36 and 11:26, 27, and is unattested in other DSS. A further linguistic similarity is the use of the noun מצודות “nets,” which is found only in these two hymns, 12:13 and 11:27. The expression יצר חמר “creature of clay” also appears in the hymns, 12:30 and 11:24e-25a.

12:6-13:6 and 13:22-15:8 have two linguistic correspondences. The expression דרך לבבך “the way of your heart” occurs five times in the *Hodayot* and is found only in these two hymns (12:19, 22, 25; 14:10, 27). Another affinity between these two hymns is the phrase אל עליון “God Most High” (12:32; 14:36). This stereotyped expression is rarely used in columns 10-17:36 but found in the “Community Hymns.” As will be shown later, 12:30b-13:6 does contain motifs and language characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” A significant correspondence between these two hymns is the prominent use of independent pronouns: אני (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 13:24, 15:4) and חמה (12:7, 10, 14, 17; 13:28, 14:22).

12:6-13:6 has a striking parallel to 15:9-28. In 12:23, the author claims, “I stand upright and rise against those who despise me” (אתעודדה ואקומה על מנאצני). The same idea occurs in 15:25, where the author says, “and you have exalted my horn above all those who despise me” (ותרם קרני על כול מנאצני). Another correspondence between these two hymns is the use of independent pronouns: אני (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 15:21) and אתה (12:13, 19; 15:13, 16, 19, 28).

There are two significant correspondences between 12:6-13:6 and 16:5-17:36. Remarkable is their use of independent pronouns: אני (12:23, 31, 34, 36; 17:6, 18) and אתה (12:13, 19; 16:17, 24, 30). Significant parallels can be drawn between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35:

- 12:34-35 וימס לבבי בדונג מפני אש וילכו ברכי במים מוגרים במורד
 And my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire,
 and my knees have gone like water rushing down the slope.
- 16:33-34 וינגר במים לבי וימס בדונג בשרי
 And my heart pours out like water and my flesh dissolves like wax
- 16:35 וילכו ברכי במים ברכי
 And my knees give way like water

These two sections describe the suffering and distress of the author. Although they employ the same set of vocabulary, there is a subtle difference between them. In 1QH 10-17:36, the כ phrase is rarely placed between the verb and the subject. The following pattern is often found: verb + subject + כ + noun. It is only in 16:33-35 that the pattern, verb + כ + noun + subject, is used. This makes it less likely that there is a direct copying or deliberate imitation here. Such a close correspondence would suggest that a literary relationship exists between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35 or they might have been the work of the same author. It is also possible that the authors of these two sections might have made use of secondary sources.

5.1.5 1QH 13:7-21

13:7-21 shares a number of lexical and thematic similarities with 13:22-15:8. The word דממה “calm, stillness” is distinctive to these two hymns. In 13:20, the author believes that God “will turn a tempest to stillness” (תשיב סערה לדממה). But in his distress, the author says in 14:26, “a whirlwind [without] calm to revive the soul (רוח עוועיים [לאין] דממה להשיב נפש). A significant parallel is found in their description of the enemies. In 13:12, the author says, “the venom of vipers is all their plan to seize” (חמת תנינים כול מזמותם לחתוף). In 13:29, the attack of the enemies is described “as the venom of vipers” (בחמת תנינים). The author also uses the verbal form לחתוף further down the line (13:29d). Another linguistic correspondence can be found in 13:13 where the author claims, “your Torah you have hidden in [me]” (ותורתכה חבתה בי). The same idea occurs in 13:27, where it says, “and concerning the mystery you have hidden in me” (וברז חבתה בי). Finally, 13:7-21 has a striking parallel to 15:9-28 and 16:5-17:36. The use of the independent pronoun אתה is prominent among these hymns (13:13, 15, 20; 15:13, 16, 19, 28; 16:17, 24, 30).

5.1.6 Summary

There are a few lexical and thematic links between Group I and II. The majority of the lexical units shared by these two groups are clustered around the sections where the military motif or the chaotic water imagery is used. In a few cases their

similarities are found in the description of the enemies. The following matrix summarises the relationship between these two major groups of hymns.

<i>Relationship between Group I and Group II</i>	10:1-21	10:22-32	10:33-41	12:6-13:6	13:7-21
11:1-19	מים, גל רגש, קול, המון יהמו	אפעה המון מים קול, גל		האירותה פני	
11:20-37	רפש + גרש	בקע, להוב מישור אש אוכלת עץ, חץ	נפש אביון	נעלמים חלכאים מצודות יצר חמר	
13:22-15:8	גליהם	כלי מלחמות שאון + המון המה, אני		דרך לבכה אל עליון המה, אני	דממה חמת תנינים לחתוף חבתה בי
15:9-28	מענה לשון		הוות + לא חתת	על מנאצי אתה, אני	אתה
15:37-16:4				נעלמים	
16:5-17:36	רפש + גרש			וימס + כדונג ברכי + כמים וילכו אתה, אני	אתה

Among the hymns of Group I, 12:6-13:6 is the one that shows some significant parallels to Group II. 13:22-15:8 is the hymn of Group II that exhibits a number of similarities with Group I. Worth noting is the fact that Group II, besides its lexical dissimilarities from Group I, shows a number of features characteristic of the “Community Hymns,” something that Group I does not offer. Even more, Group I as a whole is significantly different from Group II in terms of theme. Thematically, the hymns of Group I are pure and simple in that they focus primarily on the enemies of the author. In point of fact, this theme usually pervades throughout the entire hymn. On the contrary, the hymns of Group II are much more complex and usually contain more than one theme. They are too complicated to the extent that one might suspect there are secondary sources used in the hymns. This would point to the enticing possibility that these hymns might have been the work of later redactors. Habel’s observation on the use of secondary sources is helpful at elucidating this point: “The presence of a second literary hand is sometimes evident in a distinctive way of thinking or theological stance. Where a definite change in theological approach is accompanied by other indications of a different literary hand the likelihood of a second literary is greatly increased.”² What is certain now is to recover as much as

² Habel (1971: 15).

possible the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36.

5.2 Possible Use of Literary Sources in 1QH 10-17:36

The first scholar to question the literary unity of each of the *Hodayot* is Sarah Tanzer. Tanzer discerns that the motifs and vocabulary characteristic of the “Community Hymns” are present in some of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. She designates the hymns with features of both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns” as “hybrids.” In her analysis she has identified eight “hybrids”: 10:5-21, 11:6-19, 11:20-37, 12:6-13:6, 13:22-15:8, 15:29-36, 15:37-16:4, 16:5-17:36.³ She proposes that a later editor has adapted material from the “Community Hymns” into the “Teacher Hymns.”⁴ Tanzer’s suggestion is just one possible explanation for this literary phenomena. Another possibility is that the phenomena can be attributed to later authorship. Later author(s), having been influenced by both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns,” wrote the “hybrids.” It is also probable that the same author wrote both the “Community Hymns” and the “Teacher Hymns,” thus responsible for the mixture of styles in the “hybrids.” Whether secondary sources have been used must then be decided on the basis of the examination of each of the *Hodayot*.

Tanzer’s “hybrids” all fall within 1QH 10-17:36. Of the eight “hybrids,” two are in our Group I and five in Group II. A few words must be said about Tanzer’s inclusion of 15:29-36 and 15:37-16:4 as “hybrids.” Tanzer takes 15:29-36 as a “hybrid” because the hymn opens with *אודכה אדוני כי*, the introductory formula characteristic of the other “Teacher Hymns.” Whether one may take 15:29-36 as a “hybrid” simply on the basis of its introductory formula is questionable. In her analysis of 13:22-15:8, Tanzer considers the hymn to be a “hybrid” because of the section of “soteriological confessions” in 14:9-22.⁵ Interestingly, she never questions the introductory formula of the hymn, which is *ברוך אתה אדוני כי* rather than *אודכה אדוני כי*. In point of fact, there is not enough evidence to associate 15:29-36 with the other “Teacher Hymns.” As already shown in Chapter 3, the statistics speak in favour of placing 15:29-36 along with the other “Community Hymns.” Tanzer considers 15:37-16:4 to be a “hybrid” on the basis of Stegemann’s reconstruction. However, the hymn is so fragmentary that one cannot determine with much certainty whether or not it is a “hybrid.”

³ Cf. Tanzer (1986: 135).

⁴ Tanzer (1986: 138).

⁵ Cf. Tanzer (1986: 111).

5.2.1 *IQH 10:1-21*

According to Tanzer, 10:1-21 includes a block of material adapted from the “Community Hymns,” as she writes: “In the example of 2:3-19 [10:5-21], the material adapted from the Hymns of the Community is found in the third stanza, which does not follow the same dualistic pattern which was noted in the first two stanzas. Although the literary seams are not readily apparent, in terms of its linguistic features 2:14b-19 [10:16b-21] reads like a Hymn of the Community.”⁶ Tanzer does not provide any linguistic features of 10:16b-21 in support of her argument that this particular section reads like a “Community Hymn.”

There is some literary evidence arguing for the unity of the hymn. As already shown in Chapter 3, section 10:16b-21 has features reminiscent of the preceding sections, that is, 10:1-16a. The use of *ואדירה* (ll. 10, 12, 16, 17) is a good case in point. The chaotic water imagery in describing the author’s enemies is found in 10:14 as well as in 10:18. The combination of *לשון* and *שפה* in 10:20-21 makes a perfect echo to 10:9 where the phrase *מעַה לשון לעַרְוֹל שַׁפְתֵּי* is found. 12:8-17 has a number of striking parallels to 10:16b-21 but Tanzer does not take this section as having material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” In sum, 10:16b-21 is closely tied to 10:1-16a and also exhibits features characteristic of the hymns of Group I. Tanzer’s suggestion that 10:16b-21 contains material from the “Community Hymns” is questionable. The unity of the hymn is still intact and 10:1-21 does not appear to have made use of secondary sources.

5.2.2 *IQH 11:1-19*

Mention must be made of Tanzer’s interpretation of this hymn because she considers it to be a “hybrid” with 11:10b-19 as secondary material from an unidentified apocalyptic source.⁷ Tanzer observes that the hymn “presents a brief thanksgiving framework that has been somewhat abruptly attached to a Bosch-like vision of the damnation of wicked creatures (beginning in line 9 [= 11:10]). This damnation of the wicked is presented to us in vivid cosmic imagery.”⁸ The use of cosmic imagery leads her to posit that “the author of the Hymns of the Teacher composed only the beginning of this composition which has been connected with an cosmic struggle scenario taken from elsewhere.”⁹

⁶ Tanzer (1986: 111).

⁷ Tanzer (1986: 73-4).

⁸ Tanzer (1986: 74).

⁹ Tanzer (1986: 74).

However, Tanzer's argument for the division of the hymn into two sources does not account for the lexical and structural similarities shown within the hymn. She has overlooked the repetitive use of theme words such as *הרייה* and *משבר* throughout the entire hymn as well as the similar use of ship imagery in 11:7d and 11:14a. More importantly, the structure of the hymn speaks in favour of its unity:

- A. Ship Imagery (7b-8a)
- B. Woman in Travail (8b-13d)
- A. Ship Imagery (13e-18)
- B. Woman in Travail (19)

Section 7-13d opens with a short description of ship imagery and is followed by a lengthy description of a woman in travail whereas section 13e-19 begins with a lengthy description of ship imagery and ends with a brief description of another woman in travail. By means of this ABAB structure, sections 7-13d and 13e-19 are closely tied together. If the hymn is composed of two sources, the author or the redactor has skilfully sewn these sources together in order to give a sense of unity to the hymn.

5.2.3 *IQH* 11:20-37

Like 11:1-19, Tanzer takes this hymn as a "hybrid" with material adapted from the "Community Hymns" in 11:21b-25a as well as from an unidentified apocalyptic source in 11:25b-37.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, section 11:21-25 contains language and motifs associated with the "Community Hymns." The phrase "creature of clay" (*יצר החמר*) in 11:24-25 and the introductory formula of the soteriological confession *אדעה כיא* "I know that" in 11:21 are features characteristic of the "Community Hymns." Another good case in point is the use of rhetorical questions in 11:25. More importantly, the section has a number of significant parallels to 19:3-14, and particularly to 19:10-14, as depicted below:

11:22-23	<u>ורוח נעוה טהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים</u> and the perverted spirit you have purified from great transgression, that he might station himself in position with the host of the holy ones
19:10	<u>ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע</u> And for the sake of your glory you have cleansed man from transgression
19:13-14	<u>ומרוח נעוה לבינת[כהן] ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד</u> and from perverted spirit to [your] understanding and that he may station himself in position before you with an eternal host

¹⁰ Tanzer (1986: 136-7). Kuhn (1966: 80ff) and Hübner (1971-72: 278-82) take 11:20-37 as a "Community Hymn."

Moreover, the phrase *בִּיחָד רְנָה* “in the community of rejoicing” occurs in 11:24 as well as in 19:14. If the restoration of 19:12 is correct, there is another parallel between them. In 11:21d-22a, it says, “there is hope for those you have formed from dust into an eternal council” (*יֵשׁ מְקוֹה לְאִשֶּׁר יִצְרָתָהּ מִעֶפֶר לְסוֹד עוֹלָם*). Similarly, the author in 19:12 says, “to raise up from dust the worms of the dead to an [eternal] council” (*לְהָרִים מִעֶפֶר תּוֹלַעַת מַתִּים לְסוֹד [עוֹלָם]*). All these lexical and syntactical parallels point to a relation of literary dependence between 11:21-25 and 19:10-14.

Attention must be given to the eschatological nature of the judgement theme in 11:30-37. The use of cosmic imagery in judgement motif without any bearing on the author’s enemies makes this section significantly different from the other eschatological discourses in IQH 10-17:36. This distinctive feature would suggest that this section might have come from another eschatological tradition. Besides, this section employs a set of vocabulary different from the preceding sections, and especially the section (i.e. 11:26b-29) which has significant affinity with the other hymns of Group II. All these seems to be arguing against the unity of the hymn. Three possible conclusions can be made here. First, it may be suggested that a later redactor carefully and skilfully composed this hymn by incorporating material from the “Community Hymns” and an eschatological tradition. Second, it is possible that the author of Group II wrote the eschatological section but adapted material from the “Community Hymns.” This would imply that the text of Group II was later than the “Community Hymns.” Third, one cannot rule out the possibility that the author of Group II wrote the entire hymn, including both the eschatological section and the material characteristic of the “Community Hymns.” The technique of *inclusio* and the skilful use of repeated theme words in the hymn make the present writer hesitate to go for the first conclusion while the striking parallels between 11:21-25 and 19:10-14 make the third conclusion less likely. It is worth noting that Group II contains all eschatological discourses in the *Hodayot*. All else being considered, the second conclusion seems to be the most probable explanation.

5.2.4 IQH 12:6-13:6

Most scholars take 12:30b-13:6 as a secondary addition to 12:6-30a.¹¹ On the one hand, there is some literary evidence arguing for the unity of 12:6-13:6. From the outset, the author states his relationship with God through the covenant. This theme

¹¹ Becker (1963: 55), Kuhn (1966: 23), Schulz (1974: 17), Stegemann (1971: 189-90). Douglas (1998: 110-12) recognises the secondary nature of 12:30a-13:6 but prefers to take it as an interpolation. Tanzer (1986: 115) considers this hymn as a “hybrid” and suggests that 12:30b-13:6, containing wisdom features such as rhetorical statements and reward for the righteous and retributions awaiting the wicked, makes use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns.”

of God's covenant pervades throughout the entire hymn. The word בריתכה "your covenant" occurs three times in 12:6-30a (ll. 6, 20, 25) and the same word is found exactly three more times in 12:30b-13:6 (ll. 35, 36, 40). Similarly, the word דרך "way" appears three times in 12:6-30a (ll. 19, 22, 25) and again three times in 12:30b-13:6 (ll. 32, 32, 33). Finally, התעוררתי ואקומה "I stood upright and rose up" at 12:37 echoes אתעוררה ואקומה at 12:23, and the word חלכאים "scoundrels," a term describing the enemies of the author, is used in 12:26 and 12:36.

On the other hand, 12:30b-13:6 does exhibit many linguistic features of the "Community Hymns." The use of rhetorical questions is a good case in point. מה occurs four times in columns 10-17 but twenty nine times in the rest of the *Hodayot*.¹² The verb ברא "create" appears only once in 12:39 and its seven other occurrences are found outside columns 10-17.¹³ The noun רצון "pleasure" occurs twice in the hymn (12:34, 13:6) but fourteen times in the rest of the *Hodayot*.¹⁴ The phrase יצר חמר "a creature of clay" in 12:30 appears six other times outside columns 10-17.¹⁵ Remarkably, the following close correspondences between 12:30a-13:6 and the "Community Hymns" are found:

12:31	<u>ואני ידעתי כי לוא לאנוש צדקה</u> And I know that to man does not belong righteousness
7:15	<u>ואני ידעתי בבינתך כיא לא ביד בשר</u> And I know by your insight, for it is not by a hand of flesh
7:25-26	<u>ואני ידעתי כיא לא ישוה כול חון באמתך</u> And I know that no wealth is comparable with your truth.
13:6	<u>ובין[ך] כה משפט כולם</u> And in your ha[nd] is the judgement of them all
8:4	<u>ובידך משפט כולם</u> And in your hand is the judgement of them all
12:33-34	<u>ורוב רחמיו על כול בני רצונו</u> And the abundance of his compassion upon all the sons of his pleasure
19:9	<u>ורחמיכה לכול בני רצונכה</u> And your compassion for all the sons of your pleasure

It has been suggested that 12:30b-41 contains material from an eschatological tradition and has striking parallels to the Enochic text (1 Enoch 1-5) as well as to the

¹² Cf. 1QH 5:20; 7:3, 24; 8:5; 9:23, 25x2, 26; 18:3, 5x2, 6, 7, 12; 19:3; 20:27, 28, 31, 32x2, 33; 21:6 (top); 21:12 (bottom); 22:15 (top); 22:10, 11 (bottom); 23:4, 7 (bottom); 26:10 (bottom)

¹³ Cf. 1QH 5:14, 17; 7:17, 20; 9:7, 13, 27.

¹⁴ Cf. 1QH 4:23, 6:10, 13; 7:18; 8:20; 9:8, 10, 15; 18:2, 6, 9; 19:9; 23:8; 24:9

¹⁵ Cf. 1QH 9:21; 19:3; 20:26, 32; 22:11; 23:12.

Micah text (1:3-4).¹⁶ Significant correspondence can be drawn between 12:34-35 and Mic 1:4:

12:34-35	<u>וימס לבבי כדונג מפני אש וילכו ברכי כמים מוגרים במורד</u> And my heart has dissolved like wax before the fire, and my knees have gone like water rushing down the slope.
Mic 1:4	<u>ונמסו ההרים תחתיו והעמקים יתבפצו</u> <u>כדונג מפני האש כמים מגרים במורד</u> The mountains melt beneath him and the valleys split apart, like wax before the fire, like water rushing down the slope.

There is a scribal correction from מלפני to מפני on line 34. This subtle change may speak in favour of its use of the Micah text here. The author of 12:34-35 uses Micah's language about the cosmic reaction to God's judgement in order to describe his bodily and emotional response caused by the knowledge of his own sinfulness. The possibility that the author makes use of an eschatological tradition similar to the Micah text cannot be dismissed completely. Worth mentioning is that the author's use of judgement motif in describing his own distress is a feature characteristic of the hymns of Group II. This may be ascribed to the author's skilful use of the Micah text rather than his use of an eschatological tradition.

In conclusion, this accumulation of similarities points to the secondary nature of 12:30b-13:6 as the most probable explanation for its distinctive linguistic features. Three possible conclusions can be drawn here. First, it may be suggested that a later redactor had before him the text of 12:6-30a and the material from the "Community Hymns" as well as from an eschatological tradition, put them together and composed 12:6-13:6. If this is the case, the redactor has carefully and skilfully put the three sources together. Another possible conclusion is that the author of the "Community Hymns" put together the text of 12:6-30a and the material from an eschatological tradition and incorporated his own material into the hymn. This is based on the assumption that the "Community Hymns" was later than the text of 12:6-30a. Finally, one may conclude that the author of 12:6-30a, influenced by an eschatological tradition and the "Community Hymns," composed the entire hymn. In this case, the text of 12:6-30a is assumed to be later than the "Community Hymns." Although 12:30b-13:6 makes use of words and expressions characteristic of the "Community Hymns," it is interrupted by a small eschatological section, i.e., 12:34b-35a, where the author expresses his own distress. As demonstrated in the preceding section, there seems to be a literary dependence between 12:34-35 and 16:33-35. 16:33-35 occurs in a section where the lengthy description of the author's

¹⁶ Cf. Nickelsburg (1992: 649-57).

distress is given. If these two small sections were from the hand of the same author, the author of 12:6-30a could not have written the entire hymn unless he also wrote the sections about the author's distress in Group II. This would point to the first conclusion as the most likely one.

5.2.5 *IQH* 13:22-15:8

Although 13:22-15:8 is one long hymn as it now stands, it might not be the case originally. There are traces of evidence suggesting the secondary nature of 14:9-22a. Section 14:9-22a, giving a description of the remnant, seems to introduce a break between the two sections where the enemies and the author's distress are vividly portrayed, as shown in the following structure:

- A. Description of the enemies and the author's distress (13:28b-14:8)
- B. Soteriological confession about the remnant (14:9-17a)
- C. Eschatological discourse about the remnant (14:17b-22a)
- A. Description of the enemies and the author's distress (14:22b-27d)

Section 13:28b-14:8 begins with *והמה* and is followed by a description of the enemies. The section ends with a lengthy description of the author's distress. The same pattern is found in section 14:22b-27, which also begins with *והמה* and is followed by a description of the enemies and the author's distress. According to the descriptions given in these two sections, the *המה* in 13:28 and 14:22 appears to be referring to the same group of people, that is, the apostates.

Furthermore, the theological outlook of the section is quite different from the sections preceding and following it. In the midst of the description of the author's distress, section 14:9-17a opens with a soteriological confession, *ואדעה כי יש מקוה*, "I know that there is hope," a feature characteristic of the "Community Hymns." The section moves on to give a portrayal of the remnant. It is quite surprising that the hymn makes a sudden shift and returns to the description of the enemies. Section 14:9-22a, standing between 13:28b-14:8 and 14:22b-27, seems to be strange and perhaps out of place. Worth mentioning is that the eschatological section on the remnant is distinctive to the hymn and unattested in the rest of the *Hodayot*.

As shown in Section 5.1, 13:22-15:8 has a number of parallels to the hymns of Group I. Significant correspondences are clustered around the two sections where the relationship of the author to his enemies is described. The use of the independent pronoun *המה* for introducing the author's opponents is a feature of the hymns of Group I. In addition, 13:22-15:8 makes extensive use of Scripture (see Section 4.4.2). The hymn uses not only biblical words and phrases, but chains of biblical expressions. In some cases the author skilfully combines biblical texts and

incorporates them into the hymn. This use of Scripture is similar to those discerned in the hymns of Group I. This makes the affinity between Group I and 13:22-15:8 all the more striking. It is quite possible that the sections concerning the author's relationship to his adversaries might have come from the work of the author of Group I. On the whole, 13:22-15:8 is too complex to have been written by a single author. More likely, the author was a redactor who had incorporated into the hymn material adapted from an eschatological tradition and the "Community Hymns" as well as from the work of the author of Group I.

5.2.6 *IQH 16:5-17:36*

The fact that 16:5-17:36 is a single composition, as shown in Chapter 4, does not mean that it was always so. The first two major sections, 16:6e-16 and 16:17-28a, are imbued with strong apocalyptic imagery. Without giving any reasons, the author laments in 16:28 that he is like a forsaken man. From then onwards, he sets out to describe his own distress and suffering. Remarkably, a new set of vocabulary, which is quite different from the previous two sections, is employed in 16:28b-17:6a. More importantly, this is the section where a great number of linguistic affinity with the other hymns of Group II is found. The next section, 17:6b-18a, describes how the author puts his trust and confidence in God. In the middle of the section, the author makes a soteriological confession with the formula *ואדעה כי יש מקוה* "I know that there is hope." As mentioned before, this formula is a feature of the "Community Hymns." In point of fact, this section contains motifs and language associated with the "Community Hymns." 17:18b-29b returns to the description of the relationship of the author to his enemies. It then describes how God has enabled the author to stand firm despite the contempt of the enemies. Again, this section frequently uses words and phrases that have not occurred in the previous sections. The final section, 17:29c-36, clearly stands out and employs another set of vocabulary. This set of vocabulary is found only in 15:23c-24 and is not attested anywhere else in the *Hodayot*.

The frequent change of vocabulary and the shift in theme would suggest that 16:5-17:36 has been redacted in some ways. The sections that show a literary relationship with the other hymns of Group II are 16:6e-16, 16:28b-17:6a, and 17:29c-36. Of the three sections, 16:28b-17:6a is the only one having close correspondence with the other hymns of Group II. 16:6e-16 exhibits a literary relationship with 14:17b-22a while 17:29c-36 shows a few affinities with 15:23c-24. Although 16:28b-17:6a has the strongest affinity with the other hymns of Group II, it seems awkward that the theme of the author's distress is placed after two eschatological discourses. The

distress motif is usually located before an eschatological discourse in other hymns, for example, 11:20-37. If the author of Group II only composed the section exhibiting the distress motif as well as the apocalyptic imagery outlining the destruction of the wicked, he could not have been the author of 16:5-17:36. Of course, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that the author of Group II wrote the entire hymn of 16:5-17:36. In short, it may be suggested that the author of 16:5-17:36 was a redactor who had made use of material adapted from the "Community Hymns" as well as from other apocalyptic sources.

5.3 Conclusion

The hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 seem to have been incorporated with other literary sources. Among the hymns of Group I, 12:6-13:6 is the only one that has a section with material adapted from the "Community Hymns" and possibly from an eschatological tradition. Three hymns of Group II contain material adapted from other literary sources. Most scholars usually consider 11:20-37 to be a "Community Hymn." One section of the hymn, 11:21-25, exhibits striking parallels to the "Community Hymns." In fact, the lexical units this hymn has in common with other hymns of Group II are concentrated in 11:26-33. It is then more likely that the author of Group II incorporated into the hymn material adapted from the "Community Hymns." 13:22-15:8 and 16:5-17:36, the two longest hymns in the *Hodayot*, have one section making use of motifs and language characteristic of the "Community Hymns." In addition to their use of the "Community Hymns," they have adapted material from other apocalyptic sources. 13:22-15:8 is the only hymn of Group II which shows striking parallels to the hymns of Group I. The sections concerning the author's relationship to his enemies are likely to be taken from the work of the author of Group I.

Although 12:6-13:6 might have been the work of a later redactor, 12:6-30a is the section having strong affinity with the other hymns of Group I. 12:6-30a is thus likely to have been written by the author of Group I. Group II is very complicated and contains various themes. The most prominent themes are the distress motif and the destruction of the wicked. More likely, the author of Group II composed these themes and later redactor(s) incorporated into the hymns material adapted from the "Community Hymns" and other apocalyptic sources.

It seems unwise to exclude the possibility that the same author might have composed these two groups of hymns, however different the style of writing and the use of vocabulary might appear to be. It is not surprising that different genres would

demand a different set of vocabularies and perhaps different styles in achieving different ends. As mentioned before, strong apocalyptic imagery is found in the hymns of Group II. This would explain why Group II exhibits so different a set of lexical units. In this case, all the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, with the exception of 15:29-36, should be taken as having been from the same author. If the hymns in Group II are so closely tied to one another as the data shown in Chapter 4, it is thus not justifiable to select a few hymns from Group II, for example, 13:22-15:8 and 15:9-28, place them along with Group I, and classify them as the "Teacher Hymns" at the same time excluding the rest of Group II, as put forward by some scholars.

CHAPTER SIX

THE "I" OF 1QH 10-17:36 AND THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

So far we have identified on literary grounds two sets of hymns, each with the greatest possibility of having been written by the same author. The question must now be raised as to whether either or both of these groups of hymns might have been from the Teacher of Righteousness. Of special significance is to first determine whether the *Hodayot* scroll is a composition of the Qumran community itself or a pre-Qumran composition copied and preserved at Qumran. The fact that many scholars have attributed a number of hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness makes the question especially important for the present inquiry. Next, I summarise our current understanding of the Teacher as given in the DSS corpus. Finally, I will attempt to undertake a literary comparison between 1QH 10-17:36 and other Qumran literature about the Teacher.

6.1 *The Date and Provenance of the Hodayot Scroll*

The approximate date of the scroll can be determined from archaeological and palaeographical evidence. The archaeological remains at Qumran apparently point to the period between 150 B.C.E. and 68 C.E.¹ The cloths in which the Qumran scrolls were wrapped were subjected to carbon-14 test, which gives a date of 33 C.E., with a margin of error plus or minor 200 years. Recently, AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry), a more refined form of carbon-14 testing, has been introduced. As a result of this test, the *Hodayot* scroll is dated between 21 B.C.E. to 61 C.E.²

Palaeographical studies by Avigad and Cross have also helped in determining the date at which the scroll was written. Palaeographically, the Qumran scrolls fall into three categories: pre-Hasmonaeen (225 to 150 B.C.E.), Hasmonaeen (150-30 B.C.E.) and Herodian (30 B.C.E.-70 C.E.).³ The *Hodayot* scroll belongs to the third of these

¹ Tov (1988: 8), see also Vaux (1973).

² Vermes (1994: 28-9), VanderKam (1994: 18).

³ Avigad (1958: 71-2), Birnbaum (1952: 94-103), Vermes (1994: 34-8), VanderKam (1994: 15-23).

groups, that is, the Herodian. On the whole, the scroll is to be dated from the middle of the first century B.C.E. to early decades of the first century C.E. This evidence does not tell when the text of the scroll originated; however, it does set the latest possible date of composition.

In an article on Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert, Emanuel Tov has outlined a number of criteria for distinguishing sectarian from nonsectarian compositions.⁴ He has drawn a dividing line primarily on scribal grounds. According to Tov, the sectarian compositions are written only in the special 'Qumran system.' There are four major criteria. The first criterion refers to orthography and language. The following are some of the orthographical features of the Qumran system: 1) one of the most conspicuous features of the Qumran orthography is the use of the *scriptio plena*, e.g. כִּיָּא, כּוֹל; 2) the verbal suffix for the second person singular perfect is commonly written with a final ה, e.g. הִזְכַּרְתָּהּ, הִזְכַּרְתָּ; 3) another feature is the full spelling of the second person pronominal suffix, e.g. לְבִרְיִתְכָּהּ, and so on. For instance, כִּיָּא with a final א is a distinctive feature, one that is frequently used in the *Hodayot*. The use of scribal marks is another characteristic of the texts written in the 'Qumran System.' Supralinear correction is a good case in point. There is an instance of cancellation dots in column 13. As mentioned before, the first word at line 22, אֲדַרְכָּהּ, is singled out for deletion, by means of dots marked above and below it, and with the phrase בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה written above it. A further characteristic of the texts using the 'Qumran system' pertains to the use of initial-medial letters in a final position, for example, בְּמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם (1QH 12:12). The final criterion refers to the writing of the divine names in palaeo-Hebrew characters. There are four occurrences in the *Hodayot* (7:28; 9:26; 10:36; in a fragment).

Furthermore, the theology of the *Hodayot* appears to be the same as that of the other Qumran sectarian documents. The same great eschatological theme of warfare between the preordained forces of good and evil in the final judgement by God is present in the *Hodayot* as it is in 1QS and 1QM. There is no internal evidence which can establish beyond question the provenance of the *Hodayot* scroll. Nonetheless, strong points of textual similarity with other sectarian documents (e.g. 1QpHab, 1QS, CD) and its particular theological ideas may be adequate to support the working hypothesis that the *Hodayot* scroll is a product of the Qumran community.

⁴ Tov (1988).

The Teacher is often thought to have been a contemporary of the Wicked Priest, who has been identified with Jonathan (160-142 B.C.E.) or Simon (142-135 B.C.E.).⁵ It has been suggested that the Teacher had been an acting high priest during the intersacerdotium of seven years between the death of Alcimus and the accession of Jonathan, that is, 159-152 B.C.E.⁶ Identifying the Wicked Priest with a single individual has been challenged.⁷ Moreover, a few scholars have taken the title ‘the Teacher of Righteousness’ as denoting an office which might have been filled by different historical figures at different successive times.⁸ According to the dates obtained from archaeological and paleographical evidence, one cannot rule out the possibility that the *Hodayot* might have been composed by the Teacher. Various attempts have been made at identifying the Teacher of Righteousness with a historical person such as Onias III, Jose ben Joezer, Eleazar the Pharisee, a critic of John Hyrcanus I, Judah the Essene, John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth, and Menahem.⁹ All identifications of the Teacher after the middle of the first century, however, can be dismissed on palaeography grounds.¹⁰

6.2 *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*

A few words must be said about the phrase מורה הצדק,¹¹ from which our title “The Teacher of Righteousness” is derived. In the phrase מורה הצדק, צדק can be

⁵ The majority of the scholars have identified the Wicked Priest with Jonathan (Milik 1959: 85-7; Jeremias 1963: 36-78; Stegemann 1971: 198-207; Murphy-O'Connor 1992: 340-41; Sanders 1992: 24; Vermes 1994: 135; see also Charlesworth 1980: 218-22; Collins 1989b: 159-72) while Cross (1995: 100-20) prefers his brother Simon. This position is not universally accepted among scholars, for example, Dupont-Sommer (1961: 351-57) has argued for Hyrcanus II (63-40 B.C.E.) as the Wicked Priest.

⁶ Stegemann (1971: 102, 210-220, notes 328 and 329), Murphy-O'Connor (1974: 229-33; 1976: 399-420), Wise (1990: 587-613), VanderKam (1994: 103-4).

⁷ Van der Woude (1982: 349-59, 1996), García Martínez and Van der Woude (1989-90: 521-41). Van der Woude suggests that the designation “Wicked Priest” in 1QpHab 8-12 is referred to six Hasmonean High Priests in the following chronological order: Judas Maccabeus (8:8-13), Alcimus (8:16-9:2), Jonathan (9:9-12), Simon (9:16-10:5), John Hyrcanus I (11:4-8), and Alexander Jannaeus (11:12-12:10). This hypothesis has been criticised by Lim (1993). In a recent article, Van der Woude (1996) attempts to deal with Lim’s criticism.

⁸ Rabinowitz (1958), Buchanan (1969, 1977), Bregman (1979). As early as in 1961, Smith (1961) has already suggested that the title “Teacher of Righteousness,” like “the Wicked Priest,” could refer to several historical figures.

⁹ E.g., Thiering (1979), Carmignac (1980: 235-46). Rainbow (1997: 30-52) has argued for Onias III’s heir as the Teacher of Righteousness. For a summary, see Bardtke (1976: 139-40).

¹⁰ Murphy-O'Connor (1992: 340), García Martínez (1993: xlvii-viii).

¹¹ The term is usually taken as having a biblical background in Hos 10:12 and Joel 2:23. Gaster (1957: 15) and Cross (1995: 114) also suggest Deut 33:9-10 as its background. Attempts have been

interpreted either as an objective genitive, “he who teaches righteousness” or “the Teacher of Righteousness,” or as a subjective genitive, “the Righteous/Legitimate Teacher.”¹² The former translation emphasizes the didactic functions of the Teacher whereas the latter his personal character or the legitimacy of his role. It seems wise to keep both meanings in mind although the traditional translation, that is, “the Teacher of Righteousness,” is taken up here.

Among the Qumran texts, the term מורה הצדק is found only in the Damascus Document (CD) and the Peshier on Habakkuk (1QpHab), Micah (1Q14) and Psalms (4Q171 and 4Q173).¹³ Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, little can be made of the following references: 1Q14 10:6, 4Q171 3:19, 4Q173 1:4, 2:2. According to the Psalms Peshier, the Teacher was a priest and the founder of the community. In 4Q171 3:15b-16, it says, “The interpretation of it concerns the Priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness, whom] God [ch]ose as the pillar. F[or] he established him to build for him a congregation of [his chosen ones in truth;]”¹⁴ The Teacher was also a scribe, as mentioned in 4Q171 4:26b-27: “And my tongue is the pen of [a skilled scribe. The interpretation of it] concerns the Teacher of [Righteousness, who be]fore God with purposeful speech.”

The Teacher is referred to not only as a priest but also an authoritative interpreter of prophecy. In 1QpHab 2:1-2, the traitors (הבוגדים) and the Man of the Lie (איש הכזב) are mentioned as those who “did not believe the words of the Teacher of Righteousness” and then in 1QpHab 2:6-10a, the traitors are described as “the ruthless [ones of the coven]ant (עריצי הברית) who will not believe when they hear all that is going to co[m]e up on the last generation from the mouth of the priest into [whose heart] God put [understandi]ng to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets by [whose] hand God enumerated all that is going to come upon his people and up[on his congregation].” The tension between the Teacher and the Man of the Lie is described in 1QpHab 5:9b-12a, “The interpretation of it concerns the House of Absalom and their partisans, who were silent at the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness and did not support him against the Man of the Lie – who rejected the Law in the midst of all their council.” The Teacher is also likely to be the one referred to as “the interpreter of knowledge” (מליץ דעת) in 4Q171 1:26b-27, where

made to define it using the opposite term מורה שקר “teacher of falsehood” in Isa 9:14 and Hab 2:18 (see Jeremias 1963: 313).

¹² The common translations of this term are summarised in Reeves (1988: 288-89). For details, see Jeremias (1963: 308-18).

¹³ There are other conjectures such as the two restorations made in 1Q14 11:4 and 4Q165 1-2, 3 by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997: 9, 328).

¹⁴ The following text and translation of the Pesharim are based on the work of Horgan (1979).

the Man of the Lie (אִישׁ הַכֹּזֵב) is also mentioned: “[The interpretation] of it concerns the Man of the Lie, who led many astray with deceitful words, for they chose empty words and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge.” Furthermore, in 1QpHab 7:4-5a it says, “the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.” The salvific role of the Teacher is emphasized in 1QpHab 8:1-3a where it says, “The interpretation of it concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their fidelity to the Teacher of Righteousness.”

Two passages mention the Teacher in relation to the Wicked Priest. 1QpHab 9:9-12a highlights God’s judgement on the Wicked Priest: “The interpretation of it concerns the [W]icked Priest, whom – because of wrong done to the Teacher of Righteousness and his partisans – God gave into the hand of his enemies to humble him with disease for annihilation in despair, beca[u]se he had acted wickedly against his chosen ones.” The persecution of the Teacher by the Wicked Priest is stated in 1QpHab 11:4-8a, “The interpretation of it concerns the Wicked Priest, who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness – to swallow him up with his poisonous vexation – to his place of exile. And at the end of the feast, (during) the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath.”

The complete title מורה הצדק occurs twice in the CD, interestingly at both the beginning and the end of the document. The first occurrence is found in CD 1:11, where the relationship of the Teacher of the Righteousness to the so-called “Damascus movement” is described. In CD 1:3-11, it says:

For in their unfaithfulness that they forsook him, he hid his face from Israel and His sanctuary and gave them over to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant of the forefathers, he left a remnant for Isarel and did not give them over to destruction. In the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after having given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, he visited them and caused to sprout from Israel and Aaron a shoot of plantation to inherit his land, and to grow fat on the good things of his earth. And they perceived their iniquity and knew that they were guilty men. And they were like blind men and like those groping for the way for twenty years. And God observed their deeds, that with a whole heart they sought him, and raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to direct them in the way of his heart. [trans. mine]

In this introduction to the CD, the Teacher is described as one who was raised by God to lead a group of remnant in “the way of His heart” (דֶּרֶךְ לִבּוֹ), an expression frequently used in 1QH 12:6-13:6 (ll. 19, 22, 25). The second explicit reference to the Teacher of Righteousness is found in CD 20:32, where it describes the faithful

ones as those who listen to the voice of the Teacher. Two other possible references to the Teacher are found in CD 20:1 and 20:14. The first one warns against those “who have entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus, but again betrayed and departed from the well of living waters” (CD 19:33b-34). The apostates will not be reckoned from the day of the gathering in of ‘the unique teacher’ (מורה היחיד).¹⁵ The second reference in the same way mentions about the gathering in of the ‘the teacher of the community’ (מורה היחד). Finally, two possible references to the Teacher are found in CD 6:11, where it refers to “the one who teaches righteousness at the end of days” (יורה הצדק באחרית הימים). There has been much debate as to whether the expression “the Interpreter of the law” (דורש התורה) in 6:7 is also referred to the Teacher.¹⁶ The above are all the references to the Teacher of Righteousness in the DSS corpus.

6.3 *A Literary Comparison between 1QH 10-17:36 and other DSS texts about the Teacher*

Group I has strong linguistic affinity to the Pesharim and the CD. The following two passages show a few striking parallels:

1QH 10:11-13 וְתִשְׁמַנִּי חֲרָפָה וְקִלְס לְבֹגְדִים סוּד אִמֶּת וּבִינָה לְיֹשְׁרֵי דֶרֶךְ
וְאֶחֱיָה עַל עוֹן רָשָׁעִים דְּבָהּ בְּשִׁפְתַּי עֲרִיצִים לְצִים יַחְרוֹקוּ שְׁנִים
And you have made me a reproach and a derision for traitors,
(but) a counsel of truth and understanding for the upright of way.
And on account of the iniquity of the wicked
I have become a slander on the lip of ruthless men,
scorners gnash (their) teeth.

4Q171 2:13-15 זֹמָם רָשָׁע לְצַדִּיק וְחֹרֵק עָלָיו שְׁנֵי יְהוָה יִשְׁחַק לוֹ
כִּיָּא רָאָה כִּיָּא בָּא יוֹמוֹ פִּשְׁרוֹ עַל עֲרִיצֵי הַבְּרִית
אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר יִזְוֹמוּ לְכָלֹת אֶת עוֹשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה
אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵצַת הַיָּחִיד
The wicked plots against the righteous and gnashes [his teeth] at [him].
Yahweh laughs at him, for he sees that his day has come.
The interpretation of it concerns the ruthless ones of the covenant
who are in the house of Judah: they will plot to destroy completely
those who observe the Law,
who are in the council of the community.

¹⁵ Most scholars would see this as an allusion to the death of the Teacher of Righteousness (see Fitzmyer 1992: 223-8).

¹⁶ Davies (1988) has taken דורש התורה and יורה הצדק as two different figures, the former referring to the founder of the ‘Damascus movement’ and the latter to the Teacher of Righteousness (similarly Murphy-O’Connor 1985: 241-3). Knibb (1990: 56-60) has argued that the two terms should be considered as referring to the same person, that is, the Teacher of Righteousness. Ulfsgard (1998: 321-6) has followed Davies’ proposal but preferred to interpret ‘the end of days’ as referring to the present experience of the Qumran community. In other words, the arrival of the Teacher was indeed part of the events of “the end of days.”

In 4Q171, Ps 37:12-13 is first cited in 2:13-14a and then followed by its interpretation in 2:14b-15. The wicked in Ps 37:12 are interpreted as עריצי הברית “the ruthless ones of the covenant.” עריצי הברית are those who plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth. The same motif is used in a similar fashion in 1QH 10:11-13. Apart from the lexical similarities shown above, the following two expressions are used in the immediate context of both 4Q171 and 1QH passages: ישרי דרך (4Q171 2:17, 1QH 10:12) and מליץ דעת (4Q171 1:27, 1QH 10:15). All these point to a literary relationship between 4Q171 and 1QH passages.

Furthermore, the word עריץ appears sparingly in the DSS corpus. Its use in conjunction with הברית is found here as well as in 4Q171 3:12, and perhaps in 4Q171 4:1 and 1QpHab 2:6. It also occurs in the phrase עריצי גוואים “the ruthless ones of the nations” in 4Q171 2:20, 4:10. The plural form עריצים is used in 1QH 10:13, 23, and possibly 9:39 (fragmentary). The phrase עריצי הברית is usually taken as referring to “a violent faction within the Qumran community.”¹⁷ The internal dispute and schism within the community can be seen in 1QpHab 2:1-10, where עריצי הברית are in fact referred to as הבוגדים “the traitors.” In addition to its three occurrences in 1QpHab 2, the term בוגדים is found in CD 1:12, 8:5, 19:17. The last two references warn against those who have entered into the covenant and yet have not left the path of traitors (מדרך בוגדים). Of great importance is the use of בוגדים in the well-known account of the ‘Damascus movement’ in CD 1, where it tells how God ‘raised up’ a Teacher of Righteousness (or Legitimate Teacher) to direct the members of the community in the way of His heart. It is in this immediate context that עדת בוגדים “the congregation of traitors” is found (CD 1:12). They are the ones who have strayed from the path, and to them Hos 4:16 is applied in a lengthy description of their unfaithfulness to God’s covenant (CD 1:13-2.1). In CD 1:18, they are described as those who sought smooth things (דרשו בחלקות). A similar idea can be found in 1QH 10:17, 34; 12:11. The same expression appears in 4Q169 frgs. 3+4 1:2, 7; 2:2, 4; 3:3, 7.

Worth noting is the fact that the last occurrence of בוגדים is found in the 1QH passage quoted above (10:12). The 1QpHab passage has another significant parallel to 4Q171, in that they both place עריצי הברית in relation to הכוהן “the priest.” 1QpHab 2:6-9 states that the ruthless ones of the covenant do not believe the words of the priest “into [whose heart] God put [understandi]ng to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets” whereas 4Q171 2:18-19 mentions that the wicked ones “will seek to lay their hands on the priest and on his partisans in the time of testing

¹⁷ Horgan (1979: 210).

that is coming upon them.” It may then be suggested that there is a link between the Teacher and the ruthless ones of the covenant.

Another significant correspondence can be drawn between 1QH 12:12-13 and 1QpHab 11:2-3:

1QH 12:12-13 ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומץ
למען) הבט אל תעותם להתחולל במועדיהם להתפש במצודותם
And the have withheld the drink of knowledge from the thirsty,
and for their thirst they have given them vinegar to drink,
in order to gaze upon their error,
that they may behave madly at their feasts,
that they may be caught in their nets.

1QpHab 11:2-3 חיי משקה רעיהו מספח חמתו
אף שכר למען הבט אל מועדיהם
Woe to him who gives his neighbors to drink mixing in his poison,
indeed, making (them) drunk in order that they might look upon their
feasts.

Hab 2:15 חיי משקה רעיהו מספח חמתך
אף שכר למען הביט על מעוריהם
Woe to him who gives his neighbors to drink, pouring out your wrath
until they are drunk in order to gaze upon their nakedness.

The MT of Hab 2:15 is given above to highlight how close a relationship the 1QH 12:12-13 is with 1QpHab 11:2-3. In 1QpHab 11:2-3, the pesherist cites the text of Hab 2:15. It is quite obvious that 1QpHab 11:2-3 is slightly different from the MT of Hab 2:15. First, the noun חמה is with a third person singular suffix in 1QpHab while it is with a second person singular suffix in the MT. Second, the hiphil form of נבט is written defectively, that is, without a *yod*, in 1QpHab. Third, the MT has the preposition על while 1QpHab uses a different preposition carrying the same meaning, i.e., אל. Most significantly, the MT has the word מעוריהם at the end of the sentence whereas 1QpHab uses a word with a completely different meaning, מועדיהם. It is possible that the author of 1QpHab made use of a textual tradition different from the MT. It has been demonstrated, however, that alteration of scriptural text is not uncommon in 1QpHab.¹⁸ The biblical lemma in 1QpHab 11:4-8 does in fact point out that the pesherist might have altered the word from מעוריהם “their nakedness” to מועדיהם “their feasts” for the sake of interpretation. In 1QpHab 11:4-8, the Teacher of Righteousness is said to have been persecuted by the Wicked Priest at the end of the feast (11:6, בקץ מועד).

Having considered the difference between the MT and 1QpHab, attention must be given to 1QH 12:12-13. Lexically, the 1QH text is much more closer to 1QpHab than to the MT. Thematically, both texts mention the activities of ‘drinking’ and

¹⁸ cf. Lim (1990). For details, see Lim (1997b: 69-109).

‘gazing’, which is quite distinctive to them in the DSS corpus. However, there are differences between these two passages. In 1QH 12:12-13, it is the vinegar (חומץ) they drink and their errors (תעוהם) the enemies gaze upon. Scholars have pointed out a significant difference between these two passages.¹⁹ The 1QH passage uses plural subject and keeps referring to a group of people whereas the 1QpHab passage only makes reference to the activities of a single individual, that is, the Wicked Priest. This makes it difficult to determine whether both passages are referring to the same incident, that is, the persecution of the Teacher by the Wicked Priest. Two observations can be made here. First, it seems almost, if not completely, impossible to imagine that the Wicked Priest all by himself could have persecuted the Teacher and his followers. Of course, it is assumed that the Teacher was with his followers during the rest of the day of Atonement. It seems logical to consider that the Wicked Priest as the leader of the opposition group pursued the Teacher with his own followers. Second, the author of 1QpHab might have set his focus on the Wicked Priest, the leader of the opposition group, as evident by the frequent use of this sobriquet in the Pesharim. The author of the 1QH passage seems to have been concerned primarily with expressing his own personal feelings against the opposition group. This aim is achieved by setting a single individual in opposition to a group of people. The effect that the author purported to produce is that he, though a leader, was alone and attacked not simply by a single individual but by a group of enemies. This may explain why the 1QH and 1QpHab passages show a difference in their ways of referring to the enemies. On the whole, the close lexical and thematic parallels between 1QH 12:12-13 and 1QpHab 11:2-3 points to a relation of literary dependence between the two. It is not decisive as to whether the 1QH text depends on the 1QpHab passage or whether it should be the other way around.

As already shown in Chapter 3, 10:1-21 has a much closer affinity with 12:6-13:6 than with the other hymns of Group I. This coincides well with the lexical comparison shown above. 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 are the hymns that have close parallels to the other DSS texts about the Teacher of Righteousness. Both 4Q171 and 1QpHab passages set the focus on the relationship of the Teacher to his opponents. They vividly portray the attacks of the enemies upon the Teacher. The same theme is found in the hymns of Group I.

Moreover, the Pesharim and CD have used a number of designations for the Teacher’s opponents: דורשי חלקות, איש הכזב, בוגדים, עריצי הברית. These are the terms the author of Group I uses to designate his adversaries. The word עריצים

¹⁹ Callaway (1988: 194), see also Davies (1987: 93-105).

occurs not only in 10:1-21 but also in 10:22-32. In 10:23 the author says, “ruthless men sought my soul” (עריצים בפשו נפשי). These are the only two occurrences of עריצים in the *Hodayot*. The word כזב occurs sparingly in the *Hodayot*, once in 10:33-41 and twice in 12:6-13:6. In 10:33, the author thanks God for delivering him from the “interpreters of falsehood” (מליצי כזב). In 12:10-11, the author describes his opponents as “interpreters of falsehood” and “seers of deceit” (חוזי רמיה). The expression “seekers of smooth things” (דורשי חלקות) is found in 10:1-21 (l. 17) and 10:33-41 (l. 34). It would appear that falsehood and deceitfulness are the matter at issue in these hymns.

In 4Q171, the author frequently uses the expression “the congregation of the poor” (עדת האביונים). In 4Q171 2:15-19, the poor and humble (עני ואביון) are interpreted as the Priest and the members of his council, whom God will deliver from the hands of the wicked. Worth mentioning is that the terms עני and אביון are also found in the same context where the deliverance of God is emphasized in 10:33-41 and 13:7-21. Finally, in 10:15 the author claims to be “an interpreter of knowledge of wonderful mysteries” (מליץ דעת ברזי פלא). The designation מליץ דעת is associated with the Teacher in 4Q171. Through lexical and thematic links, 10:22-32 and 10:33-41 are in some ways related to the other DSS texts concerning the Teacher. If 13:7-21 is closely tied to the other hymns of Group I, as shown in Chapter 3, it is also probable that there exists to a limited extent a relation between the texts concerning the Teacher and 13:7-21.

No significant correspondences can be drawn between the hymns of Group II and other DSS texts about the Teacher. Neither is there any thematic parallels between them. In short, it is only in Group I that one can discern a few significant parallels between the hymns and the other DSS texts about the Teacher.

6.4 Conclusion

According to the Pesharim and CD, the Teacher of Righteousness is said to have been a priest, a scribe, an authoritative interpreter of prophecy and the founder of the Qumran community. No explicit mention of these statements about the Teacher can be found in the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36. There is, however, a possible reference to the Teacher’s role as an interpreter of prophecy in 10:1-21. In 10:15 the author claims to be “an interpreter of knowledge” (מליץ דעת). Worth mentioning is the consummate skill of the author’s use of Scripture in the hymns of Group I. Very remarkable is the manner in which the author incorporates biblical texts, and especially those from the prophetic traditions (e.g. Isaiah), into his composition.

This feature may be the very proof that the author of Group I was an interpreter of prophecy.

Of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 stand out as having a number of significant parallels to the other Qumran texts about the relationship of the Teacher to his adversaries. Not only do these two hymns share a number of lexical affinities with the Pesharim and CD, the content of the hymns are to a certain extent similar to the information given about the Teacher. Worth noting is the fact that all these lexical parallels are always found in the context where the Teacher of Righteousness is also in the picture. This would suggest that the author of 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 might have been the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, these two hymns have many significant parallels to the other hymns of Group I. In particular, they share the same designations for the author's enemies. They also describe the attacks of the enemies in many ways similar to those given in the Pesharim and CD. It is thus possible that the other three hymns of Group I might also have been written by the Teacher. Finally, there is not enough literary evidence to prove that the hymns of Group II were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the present study an attempt has been made to give a more solid basis for addressing the issue of authorship in the *Hodayot*. By no means is there a claim that all problems have been solved. Several questions have been left unanswered. For instance, it is still uncertain as to whether the "Community Hymns" antedated the "Teacher Hymns," as has been assumed by previous scholarship. Whether it was the other way around is a moot point and cannot be proved either. Even so, this study clearly points to the fact that there are at least two major groups of hymns within 1QH 10-17:36, the block of hymns which have been usually classified as the "Teacher Hymns." Each group has its distinctive traits of style, content, and vocabulary, and each has the greatest possibility of having been written by the same author.

The first of the two groups, Group I, comprises the following five hymns: 10:1-21, 10:22-32, 10:33-41, 12:6-13:6 and 13:7-21. These five hymns share a set of terms designated for persons, and particularly, for the enemies of the author. The focus is on the negative relationship of the author to his enemies. The unfaithfulness of the enemies, that is, their turning away from God's covenant and their denying the leadership of the author, is often emphasized. Their fierce attack, be it verbal or political, is also in full view in these hymns. The self confidence of the author in God and his gratitude to divine deliverance are often highlighted at the beginning as well as towards the end of the hymns. Almost all lexical and structural similarities they have in common are concentrated in the sections where the attack of the enemy is described. Worth noting is the fact that the affinity among these hymns lies not only in single words but in significant expressions. These hymns, with the exception of 10:33-41, make extensive use of Scripture. Remarkable is the consummate skill of the author in blending a number of biblical texts into his composition. This makes their affinity all the more striking. All these shared lexical, thematic, structural parallels among this group of hymns would point to a relationship of literary dependence or the same authorship.

The second group of hymns, Group II, consists of 11:1-19, 11:20-37, 11:38-12:5, 13:22-15:8, 15:9-28, 15:37-16:4 and 16:5-17:36. In stark contrast to Group I, Group

II shares a different set of terms in reference not to persons but to things, for example, ship, building, fortified city, etc. All these terms come from the prominent use of strong images in these hymns. These hymns no longer place their emphasis on the author's enemies. Rather, the theme is shifted from external attacks to inner distress. The majority of the lexical elements they have in common are clustered around the sections where the distress motif is extensively emphasized. The distress motif is located in the following sections: 11:7-13d, 11:26b-29, 13:28b-14:8, 14:25c-27d, 16:28b-17:6a. Surprisingly, the divine deliverance from distress is only touched upon in these hymns. Some of the hymns even end abruptly with the distress motif. 13:22-15:8 is a good case in point. 15:9-28 stands out as the only hymn that emphasizes the author's victory over his enemies. Another striking feature of these hymns is the use of strong apocalyptic imagery. It is also in the section with strong images that the hymns share a few similarities. For example, 13:22-15:8 has a few lexical parallels to 16:5-17:36 and the affinity is found in their eschatological sections, that is, 14:17b-22a and 16:5-16. Even more, these hymns make frequent use of the terms and carry stylistic features associated with the "Community Hymns." This dramatic shift in vocabulary, content and structure makes this group of hymns distinguishable from Group I. From the point of view of content and vocabulary, these hymns are closely tied to one another and should be put together as a group. All these would suggest that there exists a literary relationship among the hymns of Group II. Likely, they might have been the work of the same author.

There are interrelationships among the two groups of hymns. While Group I does not exhibit too many striking parallels to Group II, the hymns of Group II do show a few similarities with Group I. The technique of *inclusio* and the use of independent pronouns are the features that can also be found in some of the hymns of Group II, for example, 15:9-28. 13:22-15:8 stands out as the one having significant parallels to the hymns of Group I. The hymn has two sections portraying the author's enemies. It makes use of the independent pronoun *אני* to introduce the enemies, a feature so characteristic of the hymns of Group I. The hymn also makes extensive use of Scripture, another feature characteristic of Group I. As has been suggested, the sections concerning the relationship of the author to his adversaries might have been the work of the author of Group I. However, when all the similarities are counted and weighed, all the hymns of Group II are much closer to each other than to Group I.

An attempt has been made to recover as much as possible the redactional shape of 1QH 10-17:36 by exploring the relationship between the "Teacher Hymns" and the "Community Hymns." Rarely do the hymns of Group I contain motifs and language

associated with the “Community Hymns.” 12:6-13:6 is an exception. The final section of the hymn, 12:30b-13:6, has made use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” An eschatological tradition similar to the Micah text might have been used in 12:34-35 as well. Of the hymns of Group II, three have been identified as having material adapted from other literary sources: 11:20-37, 13:22-15:8, 16:5-17:36. One of the literary sources they have used is the “Community Hymns.” It is possible that they also make use of other apocalyptic sources from common eschatological tradition. Of course, one cannot dismiss the possibility that the author of Group II might also have composed those eschatological sections. Nevertheless, the evidence points to the work of later redactor(s) as the most probable explanation for the complexity of these hymns. What has been discussed in this dissertation could be used as a point of departure for examining the redactional shape of the entire *Hodayot* collection.

Taking the *Hodayot* collection as a continuum, the interrelationship of the hymns can be depicted as follows:

Group I	Group II	Community Hymns
10:1-21 10:22-32 10:33-41 12:6-13:6 ==> 13:7-21	11:1-19 11:20-37 =====> 11:38-12:5 <==== 13:22-15:8 =====> 15:9-28 15:37-16:4 16:5-17:36 =====>	15:29-36 and all the hymns outside of IQH 10-17:36

Group I stands on one side and the “Community Hymns” on the other side because the hymns of Group I do not have any significant parallels to the “Community Hymns.” 12:6-13:6, marked with “=>”, has a section with material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” Group II stands in the middle of the continuum as it shares a few affinities with Group I and exhibits striking similarities with the “Community Hymns.” Of the hymns of Group II, 13:22-15:8 is the one with a number of significant parallels to the hymns of Group I and is thus marked with “<==”. Three hymns of Group II are marked with “=>”, for they make use of material adapted from the “Community Hymns.” Group II also has material that neither of the other two have, for example, the eschatological sections.

Of the two groups of hymns, Group I shows a number of significant literary correspondences with the Pesharim and CD. In particular, 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 have more striking similarities with the Pesher on Habakkuk and Psalms. The

thematic parallels between these two hymns and the information given by CD 1, 4Q171, 1QpHab, make their relationship all the more striking. On literary grounds, it seems justified, with such limited information we have about the Teacher, to propose that 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6 have the greatest possibility of having been authored by the Teacher of Righteousness. Since the other three hymns of Group I have close affinity with 10:1-21 and 12:6-13:6, it is possible that they too might have been the work of the Teacher.

Although the result of this dissertation is in some ways similar to those obtained by my predecessors, the approach undertaken here is significantly different. As has been shown in previous chapters, the present writer, using a purely literary analysis, has attempted to determine first whether the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 might have been from one author or several, without asking whether the author was the Teacher of Righteousness. In so doing, no particular criteria like the *Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers* has been imposed on the hymns. As a result, there are more expressions and themes that have been recovered from within 1QH 10-17:36. The distress motif and the chaotic water imagery are good cases in point. Chapter Four and Five have brought out other salient features of the hymns within 1QH 10-17:36 that have not been discussed and have been overlooked by previous scholarship. The aim of this dissertation is to do full justice to the text in question. It is to be hoped that the present approach to the study of the *Hodayot* will contribute towards a better understanding of the hymns and their relationship to one another, while at the same time trying to tackle the historical question of authorship. Only when we are sensitive to the approach and the preconceived notions we have brought to the text can we start to grasp its meaning and gain new insights from the text.

APPENDIX

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE "COMMUNITY HYMNS"

Column 3:1-8 (Top)

Sukenik frg. 16

SHR 4260A

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 146

[מרות ]	] 1
[ע]שוקים]	] 2
ר[חמיו על אביונים]	] 3
[ה ומי מתכן ]	] 4
[ומי מתכן גבורת ]	] 5
[עולם מי חושן ]	] 6
[קדומים ]	] 7
[ורתכה ]	] 8

1. [] *mrwt* [
2. [op]pressed [
3. [his] compassion upon the poor [
4. [] *h* and who can measure [
5. [] and who can measure the strength [
6. [] eternal. Who *hwš* [
7. [] of antiquity [
8. [] *wrtkh* [

Column 3:1-10 (Bottom)

Sukenik frg. 11

SHR 190406

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 146

[1	
] 2	[מדה לכול שני עון]
] 3	[מ־ר כול חותם]
] 4	[רותם בני איש לפי שכלו חן]
] 5	[מלכותו מי עשה כול אלה]
] 6	[תם ולך חמד ובצדק תשימ]
] 7	[לפניך] [תהו ויצר חן]
] 8	[יענה נכבדתה מכול אן]
] 9	[קודש וכאשר בנפשך]
] 10	[לשמך תבן] [בעדת]

1.]

2. [] *mdh* for all the years of 'w[
3. [] *m.r* all seal [
4. [] *rwtm* the sons of man according to his insight *h*[
5. [] his kingdom. Who has made all these [
6. [] *tm* and for you the kindness, and in righteousness you will place [
7. [] before you [] *thw* and the creature *h*[
8. [] he will answer, you are honoured above all '[
9. [] holiness and according to your desire [
10. [] for your name. *tb*[] in the congregation [

Column 4:1-28

Sukenik col. 17:1-28; frg. 14

SHR 190404, 4299, 190406

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 148

משפלת מדה מ]	] 1
מגולה בלוא 'משפנים [ברוח	] 2
מים אוכלת] [תאווה בלוא	] 3
ת ביבושה ומכשן [בלוא משפן]	] 4
פוגעות פתע פתאון] [כדונג]	] 5
משפט מרוח דורשן]	] 6
תרמה ב] [מצוה מרוח כו]	] 7
בנגיעי ב] [ ]	] 8
מנסתרות אשן] [אשר לא השיגום במ]	] 9
וממשפט קצן] [שבות רשעה נער]	] 10
אין וממשפט אחן] [עבדך מכול פשעיו] [ר]חמך	] 11
ברתה ביד מושה] [עוון וחטאה ולכפר בען] [ומעל	] 12
מוסדי הרים ואש] [ה בשאול תחתיה ואת הנון] [במשפטיך	] 13
ה לע' בריך באמונה] [יות זרעם לפניך כול הימים ושם] [הקמותה	] 14
שע ולהשליך כול ען] [ם ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם] [רוב ימים	] 15
16	
מרוחות אשר נתתה בי אןמצא מענה לשון לספר צדקותיך וארוך אפים] [ומעשי ימין עוזך] [ות על פשעי ראשונים ולהן] [להתחנן על	] 17
מעשי ונעוית לןבבין] כי בנדה התגוללתי ומסוד] [תי ולא נלן] [תי	] 18
לך אתה הצדקה ולשמך הברכה לעולם] [צדקתך ופדה	] 19
תמו רשעים ואני הבינותי כי את אשר בחרתה] [דרכו ובשכל	] 20
שכחו מחטוא לך ולן] [וב לו ענותו ביסוריד ובנסן] [ה לבו	] 21
עבדך מחטוא לך ומכשול בכול דברי רצונך חזק מן] [ד על רוחות	] 22
להתהלך בכול אשר אהבתה ולמאוס בכול אשר שנאנתה ולעשות] [הטוב בעיניך	] 23
לתם בתכמי כי רוח בשן] [עבדך	] 24
הניפותה רוח קודשן] [על עבדך] [הר מן] [לבו	] 25
ש ואל כול ברית אדם אביט] [ה ימצאוה	] 26
יגיה ואוהביה] [לעולמי עד	] 27
28	

¹ Sukenik transcribed מ־עֹרֶפ and could not make out what the second letter was. Looking carefully at the facsimile would suggest a *w* between *פ* and *מ*.

1. [] a low measure *m*[
2. [] *mgwlh* without judgeme[nts] by the spirit
3. [] *bym* one that consumes [] *t'wh* without
4. [] *t* on dry land and *mkš*[with]out judgeme[nt]
5. [] striking suddenly *pt'w*[] as *wa*[x]
6. [] judgement from the spirit *dwrš*[
7. [] *trmh b*[] *mswh* from the spirit *kw*[
8. [] by the blows of *b*[
9. [] from hidden things *whi*[ch whi]ch they have not overtaken them *bm*[
10. [] and from the judgement *qs*[] *šbwt* the wickedness *n'r*[
11. [] *yn* and from the judgement 'h[] your servant from all his transgressions
[] your [com]passion
12. [] *brth* by the hand of Moses [] iniquity and sin and to atone for *b'*[] and unfaithfulness
13. [] the foundations of the mountains, and the fire [] *h* in the lowest Sheol
and 't *hmw*[] by your judgement
14. [] *h* for those who serve you faithfully [] *ywt* their seed before you all the days
and there [] you have raised
15. [] *š* and to cast away all ' [] *m*
and to give them an inheritance in all the glory of man [] abundance of days.
- 16.
17. [] from the spirits which you have given me
I will [find] the reply of the tongue,
in order to declare your righteousness and forbearance
18. [] and the deeds of your strong right hand [] *w* upon my former transgressions,
and to *h*[]/ and to seek favour on
19. [] my deeds and the perversity of [my heart], for in impurity I have wallowed
and from the council [] *ty* and I have not *m*[]
20. [] To you is the righteousness and to your name belongs blessing fore[ver],
[] your righteousness, and deliver
21. [] *tmw* the wicked. But I understand that the one whom you have chosen [] his path
22. and by the insight (22) [] *škhw* from sinning against you
and / [] *wb* to him his humility by your chastenings, and by *ns*[] *h* his heart
23. [] your servant from sinning against you,
and from stumbling over all the words of your pleasure,
strengthen *m*[] *d* over spirits
24. [to] walk in all that you love,
and to abhor all that [you] hate,
[and to do] what is good in your eyes.
25. [] *ltm* in my bowels, for a spirit *bš*[] your servant.
26. [] you have spread the spirit of [your] holiness over your servant [] *hr m*[] his heart
27. [] *š* and I will consider every human covenant [] *h* they find it
28. [] *lygyh* and those who love it [for] ever and ever.

Column 5:1-28

Sukenik col. 13:1-21, frgs. 15i, 17, 20, 31, 33

SHR 190406, 3425, 4277, 4278, 190406, 4260A

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 150

[	ולחבין פ'תאים] שי עולם	[1
]	ת ולחבין אנוש בשר וסוד רוחות] ש התחלכו	] 2
[	אתה אדוני אן] רוחב] בכוח גבורתך	] 3
]	ד עם רוב טובך] אדך וקנאת משפן] חקר כול	] 4
[	עת כול בינה ון] ורזי מחשבת וראן] הכינותה	] 5
]		] 6

- 7] ה קודש מקדם ען] לעולמי עד אתה הוא] קדושים
 8] וברזי פלאך] ור כבודך ובעומך] בינתך לא
 9] אתה גליתך² דרכך] מעשי רע הוכמה ואולתך] צדק
 10] מעשיהם אמת] ואילך
 11] וחסדי עולם לכול] לשלום ושחת]
 12] שיהם כבוד עולם] שמת עד למעשה
 13] ע] ואלה אשר הכן] לשפוט בם
 14 את כול מעשיך בטרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך ועדת] רקיע קודשך]
 15 צבאותיו עם הארץ וכול צן] בימים ובתהומות] כול מחשבותך לכול קצי עולם
 16 ופקודת עד כי אתה הכינותמה מקדם עולם ומעשה] תה בם בעבור
 17 יספרו כבודך בכול ממשתך כי הראיתם את אשר לא] שר קדם ולברוא
 18 חדשות להפך קימי קדם ולן] ים נהיות עולם כי אן] ואתה תהיה
 19 לעולמי עד וברזי שכלכה פלן] כול אלה להודיע כבודך] א רוח בשר להבין
 20 בכול אלה ולהשכיל בסן] גדול ומה ילוד אשה בכול] הנוראים והוא
 21 מבנה עפר ומגבל מים] ה סודו ערות קלן] ה ורוח נעוה משלה
 22 בו ואם ירשע והיה] עולם ומופת דורות דרין] בשר רק בטובך
 23 יצדק איש וברוב רחמן] בהדרך תפארנו ותמן] וב עדנים עם שלום
 24 עולם ואורך ימים כי] דברך לא ישוב אחור ואני עבדך ידעתי
 25 ברוח אשר נתתה בי] וצדק כול מעשיך ורן בך] לא ישוב אחור]
 26 קציד מוען] רורים להפציהם ואדען
 27 ורשע שן] להתבונן]
 28 רן ויחך]

1.]
2. [] and to make the simple understand []šy eternal
3. []t and to make man of flesh understand and the council of spiri[ts]š they walked
4. [] you, O Lord, '[] breadth [] in the strength of your might
5. []d with the abundance of [your] goodness [] your wrath
and the zeal of mšp[] searchable all
6. []'t all insight and [] and the mysteries of the plan and r'[] you have established.
7. []h holiness from of old '[] for ever and ever. You are [] holy ones
8. [] and in the mysteries of your wonder []wd your glory
and in the depth [] your insight not
9. [] you have revealed drk[] deeds of evil, wisdom, and fol[ly] righteousness
10. [] their deeds, truth [] and 'y/[]
11. [] and eternal mercy for all [] for peace, and ruin []
12. []šyhm eternal glory [] eternal [gl]adness for the deed []
13. []'
And it is these that hk[]
14. to judge through them (14) all your works, before you created them
together with the host of your spirits and the congregation of []m the expanse of your holiness
15. its hosts, together with the earth and all š[]h,
in the seas and in the deeps [] all your plans for all the eternal periods
16. and eternal visitation.
For you have established them from everlasting,
and the deed []th in them, in order that
17. they might declare your glory through all your dominion,
for you have made them see what [] not []šr from of old
18. and to create (18) new things, to break down ancient things

² Sukenik mistakenly transcribed ידכח which should be read as דרכ.

- and /l[]ym that which exists for ever, for '[]
19. and you exist (19) forever and ever.
And by the mysteries of your insight p/l[]
all these to make known your glory
[]' spirit of flesh
20. to understand (20) all these and to gain insight bs[] great []
and what is the one born of a woman in all the terrifying []
21. and He is (21) but one built of dust, and kneaded with water,
[]h his foundation is shame of disgrace []h
22. and a perverted spirit rules (22) in him.
and if he acts wickedly, he shall be [] of eternity, and a portent of generations dry[] flesh
23. Only by your goodness (23) can a man be made righteous,
and by the abundance of [your] com[passion] []
by your majesty you glorify him wtm[]wb of delights,
24. with eternal peace (24) and length of days.
For [] your word does not withdraw.
25. And I, your servant, know (25) by the spirit which you have given me [] and
righteousness are all your deeds, and [your] w[ord] does not withdraw []
26. your times mw '[]wrym for their matters and I know []
27. and the wicked š[] that he may gain understanding []
28.] your [sp]irits []

Column 6:1-30

Sukenik col. 14:1-28, frgs. 15ii, 18, 19, 22, 44

SHR 4261, 4260A, 4278, 190440

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 152-4

Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," 53-4

[בעמך וכן]	1
[אנשי אמת וב]	2
[בי רחמים וענוי רוח מזוקק]	3
[מ]תאפקים עד [] משפטיכה	4
[וחזקתה חוקיך] [לעשות]	5
[קודש לדורות ע]ולם וכול]	6
[אנשי חזונכה]	7
[אדוני הנותך בלב עב[דך] בינה]	8
[ולהתאפק על עלן] [רשע ולברך]	9
[ר אהבתה ולתעב את כול אשר]	10
[ת אנוש כי לפי רוחות] [ולם בין]	11
[תם פעולתם ואני ידעתי מבינתך]	12
[ר]ח קודשך וכן תגישני לבינתך ולפי]	13
[קורבי קנאתי על כול פועלי רשע ואנשי רמיה כי כול קרוביך לא ימרו פיך]	14
[וכול יודעיך לא ישנו דבריך כי אתה צדיק ואמת כול בחיריך וכול עולה]	15
[שש תשמיר לעד ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעשיך]	16
[וא]ני ידעתי ברוב טובך ובשבועה הקימותי על נפשי לבלתי חטוא לך]	17
[ול]בלתי עשות מכול הרע בעיניך וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי לפי]	18
[כלו אנישנו וכרוב נחלתו אהבנו ולא אשא פני רע וכן] [לא אכיר]	19
[ולא]אמיר בהון אמתך ובשוחד כול משפטיך כי אם לפ[]ש]	20
[נו וכרחקך אותו כן אתעבנו ולא אביא בסודך] [שבי]	21
[יתך]	22

23	]ך אדוני כגדול כוחך ורוב נפלאותיך מעולם ועד[	ם וגדול
24	]ים הסולח לשבי פשע ופוקד עון רשעים [	] בנדבת
25	] ותשנא עולה לעד ואני עבדך חנותני ברוח דעה [	]מת
26	] ולתעב כול דרך עולה ואהבכה נדבה ובכול לבן [	]ך
27	]שכליך כי מידך היתה זאת ובלוא [	]ל
28	]כה ימשול בשר [	]ש ות[
29	] הוא ותבן בעזר את [
30	] רקיע על כנפי רוח וי[

1. [] in your people and h[
2. [] our ears [] men of truth and b[
3. prudence and those seeking understanding [] by compassion and the poor in spirit,
4. those purified by (4) poverty and those purified in the crucible []
those who restrain themselves until [] your judgement
5. and those who keep watch for your salvation. []
and you have strengthened your statutes []
6. to make (6) [judgeme]nt on the world
and to give as an inheritance to all [] holiness for e[ternal] generations
7. and all (7) [their de]eds with t'n[] men of your vision.
8. [] Lord, who gives insight in the heart of [your] ser[vant],
9. [all] these and lh[] and to restrain oneself against 't[] wickedness,
10. and to bless (10) [] by your will [] r you love
11. and to abhor all that (11) [you hate]brk [] t man, for according to the spirits [] wlm
12. between (12) good and evil []tm their works. And I know your insight,
13. for in your pleasure b'[the spi]rit of your holiness,
and thus you bring me near your understanding,
14. and as (14) I come near, I am zealous against all who practice wickedness and men of deceit,
for all who are near you are not rebellious against your commandments,
15. and all who know you do not change your words.
For you are righteous, and truth are all your chosen ones
16. and all iniquity (16) [] š' you wipe out forever ,
and your righteousness is revealed to the eyes of all your creatures.
17. [And] I know the abundance of your goodness,
and with an oath I have bound myself upon my life,
18. not to sin against you (18) [and not] to do any of all that is evil in your eyes,
and thus I have been brought into the community of all the men of my council,
19. in accordance with (19) [] k/w I will bring him near,
and according to the abundance of his inheritance I will love him,
and I will not lift my face to evil and š[] I will not consider
20. [and] I will [not] exchange your truth for wealth,
and for bribery all your judgements; on the contrary, lp[] š
21.]mw and as you place him afar, so shall I abhor him,
and I will not bring into the council [] šby
22.]ytk
23.]k O Lord, according to your great strength and the abundance of your wonders
from everlasting to everlasting []m and great
24. []ym who forgives those who turn from transgression,
and punishes the iniquity of the wicked [] freely
25. [] and you hate injustice forever.
And I, your servant, you have shown favour with the spirit of knowledge []mt
26. [] and to abhor every way of injustice,
and I love you voluntarily and with all heart []k
27. [] your insight, for from your hand this will come to pass and without []/
28. []kh flesh will rule []š and t[] šb
29. [] he, and he will build with help []

Column 7:1-31

Sukenik col. 15:1-26, frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42

SHR 190408, 4328, 4260A

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 154-6

	[1
נכה [ה]שכלתי	2
אכה מה נשיב כי גמלתנו ו[	3
לא יעצרו כוח לדעת בכבוד [	4
לליה לפי שכלם וכפי דעתם ב[כבודכה	5
[לאין השן] לקץ ישמיעו ומי[	6
ואנחנו ביחד נועדנו ועם ידעים [	7
רחמי[כה] ח עם גבוריכה ובהפלא נספרה יחד בדע[	8
בעד[] וצאצאינו הוד[] בני איש בתוך [אדם]	9
כי [] פלא מאדה [	10
ב[] מבין למש[] רנה [	11
חבו אותך כול הימים וא[	12
ואהבכה בנדבה ובכול לב ובכול נפש בררתי	13
סור מכול אשר צויתה ואח' זקה על רבים מ[	14
עזוב מכול חוקיך ואני ידעתי בבינתך כי לא ביד בשר [	15
דרכו ולא יוכל אנוש להכין צעדו ואדעה כי בידך יצר כול רוח [	16
הכינותה בטרם בראתו ואיכה יוכל כול להשנות את דבריה רק אתה [	17
צדיק ומרחם הכינותו למועד רצון להשמר בבריתך ולתהלך בכול ולה[] עליו	18
בהמון רחמיך ולפתוח כול צרת נפשו לישועת עולם ושלוש עד ואין מחסור ותרם	19
מבשר כבודו ורשעים בראתה ל[] ונכה ומרחם הקדשתם ליום הרגה	20
כי הלכו בדרך לא טוב וימאסו בב[] תעבה נפשם ולא רצו בכול אשר	21
צויתה ויבחרו באשר שנאתה כול[] הכינותם לעשות במ שפטים גדולים	22
לעיני כול מעשיך ולהיות לאות [] עולם לדעת [כול] את כבודך ואת כוחך	23
הגדול ומה אף הוא בשר כי ישכיל [] עפר איך יוכל להכין צעדו	24
אתה יצרתה רוח ופעולתה הכינותה [] ומאתך דרך כול חי ואני ידעתי כיא	25
לא ישוה כול הון באמתך ואיין [] ודשך ואדעה כי במ בחרתה מכול	26
ולעד הם ישרתוך ולא תקן [] לא תקח כופר לעלילות רשעה כיא	27
אל אמת אתה וכול עולה ת[] לא תהיה לפניך אני ידעתי	28
כי לך [] עשה וא[] ל[]	29
קודשך []	30
כי []	31

1. []

2. [] *nhk* I have [in]sight [

3. [] *'kh* What shall we reply for you have dealt (kindly) with us and [] *hply* [

4. [] they will not retain strength to know your glory [] *r* [your] wonder[s

5. [] *llyh* according to their understanding and in accordance with [their] knowledge [by] your [glo]ry

6. [] without *hš* [] to period they will proclaim and *my*[

7. [] and we are gathered in the community and with those who know [] *rh* to you and *nr*[

8. [your] compassion []h with your mighty men
and wondrously we will recount together *bd'*[] and till [
9. *b'd*[] and our offspring *hwd*[] sons of man in the midst [] Adam [
10. for [] *pl'* exceedingly [
11. *b*[] *b* understanding *lms*[] ringing cry [
12. [] *hbw* you all the days *w'*[
13. '*m*[] and I love you voluntarily and with all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I purify [
14. *hq*[] *swr* from all that you have commanded, and I will prevail over many *m*[
15. [] abandon all your statutes.
And I know your insight,
for it is not by the hand of a flesh [] man [
16. his way and a man is not able to establish his step,
and I know that by your hand is every spirit formed [] *w*
17. you have established before you created it,
and how can anyone change your words?
Only you [] *th*
18. the righteous, and from the womb you have ordained him for the appointed time of approval,
to keep your covenant and to walk (uprightly) in all things *wlh*[] upon him
19. with the abundance of your compassion,
and to relieve all the distress of his soul
unto eternal salvation and everlasting peace and without need.
20. And you have raised (20) his glory above flesh,
and the wicked you have created *l*[] *wnk**h*
and from the womb you have set them apart for the day of slaughter,
21. for they walk in a way that is not good,
and they reject *bb*[] *k* their soul abhors,
22. and they have no delight in all that (22) you have commanded
and they have chosen that which you hate. all [] *k* you have prepared them
so as to carry out great judgements upon them
23. before the eyes of all your creatures,
and to be a sign [] eternal []
that [all] may know your glory and your great power.
24. And what then is flesh that he can have insight [] dust
how can he establish his step?
25. You have formed the spirit and its work [you] have established []
and from you is the way of every living thing,
26. And I know that (26) no wealth is comparable with your truth,
w'yy[] your [ho]liness.
And I know that you have chosen them above all things,
27. and forever they will serve you and not *tq*[]
you will not take a ransom for the deeds of wickedness .
28. For (28) God of truth are you, and all injustice *t*[],
[] will not exist in your presence.
29. I know that (29) to you [] *l*[] he does *w'*[] *l*[
30. your holiness [
31. because [

Column 8:1-28

Sukenik col. 16:1-20, frg. 13

SHR 19048, 190441

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 156-8

1 [כול]
2 [שפת הביא במספר
3 [תו בשמים ובארץ]

- 4 [ות ובידך משפט כולם
5 [רך ומה יחשב ע]
6 [היו ולא יעשה כול
7 [ולעצתך פקר א]
8 [עם]
9]
10 ברוח קו[נ]דשך [הנ]
11 רוח קוד[נ]שך [מלוא ה] [אריץ] כ[נ]בודך מלוא כנ
12 ואדעה כי ברצו[נ] [באיש הרביתה] [ר אמתך בכול]
13 ומעמד צדק א[נ] [אשר הפקדתה בו פ] [י כשול בכול מ]
14 בדעתי בכול אלה [א]מ[נ]צא[ה]³ מענה לשון ל[נ]התנפל [ל פשעי ולבקש רוח]
15 ולהתחזק ברוח קו[נ]דשך ולדבוק באמת בריתך ול[נ] [ך באמת ולב שלם ולאדוב את]
16 ברוך אתה אדוני] [העלילליה אשר מעשיך הכול הנה הואלתה לענ]
17 חסד ותחונני ברוח רחמיק ו[נ] [ור כבודך לך אתה הצדקה כי אתה עשיתה את כון]
18 ובדעתי כי אתה רשמתה רוח צדיק ואני בחרתי להבר כפי כרצו[נ]ך[נ] ונפש עבדך [תעב]ה כול
19 מעשה עולה ואדעה כי לא יצדק איש מבלעדיך ואהלה פניך ברוח אשר נתתה [בי] להשלים
20 [ך עם עב] [ל] [לטהרני ברוח קודשך ולהגישני ברצונך כגדול חסדיך] [בשותן]
21 עמר[נ] [מעמד רצ] [אשר בח] [לאוהביך ולשומרי מ]
22 לפניך [לם] [ר] [ע] [התערב ברוח עבדך ובכול מעש] [ל]
23 [עיה ל] [ו ואל י] [לפניו כול נגע מכשול מחוקי בריתך כי]
24 כ[נ]וד ורוא[נ] [ורחום א] [ך א] [ם] [חסד ואמת ונושא פשע]
25 ונחם על] [ושומרי מצו] [שבים אליך באמונה ולב שלם]
26 לעובדך] [טוב בעיניך אל תשב פני עבדך] [ל] [כן אמתן]
27 [ה ואני על דבריך קר]
28]

1.] all [
2.]*špt* he brings in the number
3.]*tw* in heaven and on earth
4.]*wt* and in your hand is the judgement of all of them
5.]*dk* and what will he consider '[]
6.]*hyw* and nothing is done
7.] and according to your counsel he visited '[
8.] with [
9.]
10. by the spirit of [your] holi[ness]*h*[] and not *ywk*[
11. the spirit of [your] holi[ness] the fulness *h*[] earth [] your [gl]ory, the fulness *k*[
12. and I know that *bršw*[] toward mankind you have multiplied []*d* your truth in all [
13. and the place of righteousness '[]
which you have deposited upon him *p*[]*y* stumble in all *m*[
14. when I know all these, [I] will f[ind] the reply of the tongue,
to [prostrate myself]/ my transgression, and to seek [] spirit [
15. and to strengthen myself by the spirit of [your] ho[liness]
and to cling to the truth of your covenant,
and to []*k* in truth and perfect heart,

³ Sukenik transcribed two מענה; however, the facsimile shows a word of five letters. There is a letter immediately before מ but unfortunately one cannot make out with certainty what it is. The third letter, whose traces are barely visible, is צ while the fourth letter appears to be a א. Therefore, אמצאה is a possible reading of the text.

and to love [

16. Blessed are you, O Lord, [] deed that all things are your works.
Behold, you have determined l'[
17. lovingkindness and you have shown me favour by the spirit of your compassion,
and []wd your glory,
To you belongs the righteousness,
for you have done kw[]
18. And as I know that you have noted the spirit of the righteous,
And I have chosen to cleanse my hands in accordance with [your] will,
19. and the soul of your servant [abhor] every (19) work of injustice
and I know that none is righteous apart from you,
and I beseech your face by the spirit which you have given [me],
20. to complete (20) []dyk with 'b[] l[] to cleanse me by the spirit of your holiness,
and to bring me near by your will according to your great lovingkindness []bšwl[
21. 'mā[] the place rš[] which bh[] to those who love you and to those who keep m[
22. in your presence []lm[]d[]' [] have fellowship with the spirit of your servant
and with all m's[]l[
23. []'yh l[]w and not y[] in his presence all affliction,
a stumbling from the statutes of your covenant ky[
24. gl[ory] and '[] and compassionate '[]k '[]m mercy and truth,
and who forgives transgression [
25. and who has compassion on [],
and those who keep mšw[]šbym to you in faithfulness and perfect heart [
26. to serve you [] good in your eyes.
Do not turn away from the face of your servant, []/[] son of truth[
27.]h And I, according to your words, qr[
28.]

Column 9:1-39

Sukenik col. 1:1-39; frg. 24

4Q432 frg. 2; SHR 190415

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 158-60

			[1
			[2
			3 עולם]
		כיא [	4 במ ומשנ
	ומקה מ [	גדול [העצה]	5 ומעין הגב]
	אין מספר וקנאתכן [	וארוך אפים במשפ[ט	6 לפני ה]]
	צדקתה בכל מעשיהם	עולם ובטרם בראתם ידעתה ⁴ {כול} מעשיהם	7 ובחכמתכן [ה]]
	יעשה כול ולא יודע בלוא רצונכה אתה יצרתה		8 לעולמי עד]
	ומשפט לכול מעשיהם ואתה נטית שמים		9 כול רוח]
	תה לרצונכה ורוחות עוז לחוקיהם בטרם		10 לכבודכה כול]
	לרוחות עולם בממשלותם מאורות לרזיהם		11 היותם למלאכי]
	למשאם זקים וברקים לעבודתם ואוצרות		12 כוכבים לנתיבותן]
	לרזיהם אתה בראתה ארץ בכוחכה		13 מחשבת לחפציהן]
	ביהם הכינותה בחוכמתכה וכל אשר במ		14 ימים ותהומות]
	לרוח אדם אשר יצרת בתכל לכל ימי עולם		15 תכן[תה לרצונכה

⁴ The word כול is marked with dots above and below the line.

16 ודורות נצח למן	[בקציהם פלגתה עבודתם בכול דוריהם ומשנפ]ט
17 במועדיה לממשן	[יהם] [לדור ודור ופקודת שלומם עם
18 עם ⁵ כול נגיעיהם]	[ה ותפלג ⁶ לכול צאצאיהם למספר דורות עולם
19 ולכול שני נצח]	[ה ובחכמת דעתכה חכנינותה תענו]דתם בטרם
20 היותם ועל פי]	[יה כול ומבלעדך לא יעשה
21 אלה ידעתי מבינתכה כיא גליתא אוזני לרזי פלא ואני יצר החמר ומגבל המים	
22 סוד הערוה ומקור הנדה כור העוון ומבנה החטאה רוח התועה ונעוה בלא	
23 בינה ונבעתה במשפטי צדק מה אדבר בלא נודע ואשמיעה בלא סופר הכול	
24 חקיק לפניכה בחרת זכרון לכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול מועדיהם	
25 ולוא נסתרו ולא נעדרו מלפניכה ומה יספר אנוש חטאתו ומה יוכיח על עוונותיו	
26 ומה ישיב ע"ל ⁶ על משפט הצדק לכה אתה אל הדעות כול מעשי הצדקה	
27 וסוד ⁷ האמת ולבני האדם עבודת העוון ומעשי הרמיה אתה בראתה	
28 רוח ⁸ בלשון ותדע דבריה ותכן פרי שפתים בטרם היותם ותשם דברים על קו	
29 ומבע רוח שפתים במדה ותוצא קיים לרזיהם ונמבעי רוחות לחשבונם להודיע	
30 כבודכה ולספר נפלאותיכה בכול מעשי אמתכה]	[צדקכה ולהלל שמכה
31 בפה כול וידעוכה לפי שכלם וברכוכה לעולמי]	[ואתה ברחמיכה
32 וגדול חסדיכה חזקתה רוח אנוש לפני נגע]	[מרוב עוון
33 לספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה]	[משפטי נגיעי
34 ולבני אנוש כול נפלאותיכה אשר הגברתה]	[שמעו
35 חכמים ונשחי דעת ונמהר]ים והיו ליצר סמוך]	[הוסיפו ערמה
36 צדיקים השביתו עולה וכול תמימי דרך החזיק]	[א עני האריכו
37 אפים ואל תמאסו]	[ילי לב לא יבינו
38 אלה] [אמ]	
39 יצים יחרו]	

1.]
2.]
3. eternal [
4. in them and mš[] for [] and from there m[
5. and spring hgb[great] counsel [] without number and [your] zeal
6. before h[] and slow to anger in judgeme[nt] you are righteous in all your deeds.
7. And in [your] wisdom h[] eternal [] and before you created them,
8. your have already known their deeds (8) forever and ever
[] all is done, and nothing is known without your will.
9. You have formed (9) every spirit []
and judgement for all their deeds.
10. And you have stretched out the heavens to (10) your glory,
all []th according to your will,
and strong spirits according to their ordinances,
11. before (11) they became angels of []
to eternal spirits in their dominions,
luminaries according to their mysteries,

⁵ Here is a case of dittography.

⁶ Sukenik transcribed כול but it can be clearly seen on the facsimile that the first two letters כו were corrected to ע.

⁷ Sukenik simply transcribed סוד but the facsimile clearly shows a ו before ס.

⁸ Sukenik transcribed ורוח but there is no ו before ר.

12. stars according to [their] courses,
[] according to their work,
lightnings and thunders according to their service,
13. and storehouses (13) designed according to [their] purposes,
[] according to their mysteries.
You have created the earth by your power,
14. seas and deeps [] *byhm* you have established by your wisdom,
15. and all that is in them (15) you have ordained according to [your] will,
[] for the spirit of man which you have formed upon the earth for all the days of eternity
16. and the generations of eternity *lm*[]
in their ordained seasons you have allotted their work in all their generations
17. and jud[ge]ment (17) at its appointed times *lmmš*[] *yhm*[] to generation and generation
18. and the visitation of their retribution with (18) all their afflictions [] *h*
and you have allotted to all their offspring according to the number of endless generations
19. and for all the years of eternity [] *h*
and by the wisdom of your knowledge you have established their testimony
20. before (20) they came into existence, and according to [] *yh* all and
and apart from you nothing happens.
21. These I know from your insight, for you have opened my ears to wonderful mysteries
even though I am a creature of clay, and kneaded with water,
22. a foundation of shame and a fountain of impurity,
a furnace of iniquity and a structure of sin, a spirit of error,
23. and perverted without (23) understanding and terrified by the judgements of righteousness.
What can I say that is not known, and proclaim that is not told?
24. Everything (24) is engraved before you with the ink of remembrance for all periods of eternity,
and the courses of the number of everlasting years at all their appointed times.
25. And they are not hidden, nor are they lacking from before you.
And how shall a man give an account of his sin,
and how shall he defend his iniquities,
26. and how shall an unjust give a reply to a righteous judgement?
27. To you, God of knowledge, belong all the deeds of righteousness (27) and true counsel
but to the sons of man belongs the service of iniquity and the deeds of deceit.
28. You have created (28) breath for the tongue, and you know its words,
and you have established the fruits of the lips before they came into being,
and you have put words by a measuring line
29. and the utterance of the breath of the lips by measure,
and you bring forth the measuring lines according to their mysteries,
and [the utterances of breath]s according to their purpose,
30. in order to make known (30) your glory
and to recount your wonders in all the deeds of your truth [] your [ri]ghteousness
31. and to praise your name (31) with the mouth of all.
And they know you in accordance with their insight and bless you forever []
32. and you, in your compassion (32) and your great mercy,
you have strengthened the spirit of man against affliction [] from the abundance of iniquity,
33. to recount your wonders before all your creatures [] the judgements of my afflictions,
34. and to the sons of man all your wonders which you have done mightily []
35. Listen, (35) O wise men, and [you who meditate upon knowledge and the anxious],
and be of steadfast mind [] increase prudence.
36. O righteous men, make an end of injustice,
and all those of perfect way, strengthen [] 'the poor
37. Be patient (37) and do not reject [] *y/y* heart they do not understand
38. these things [] *m*[
39. *yšym yhrw*[

Column 15:29-36

Sukenik col. 7:26-33; SHR 190409

4Q428 frg. 6

- 29 אוֹנִיכָה אֲדוֹנִי כִּי הִשְׁכַּלְתִּי בְּאַמְתְּכָה
 30 וּבְרָזִי פְּלֹאכָה הוֹדַעְתִּי וּבַחֲסִדִּיכָה לְאִישׁ [] בְּרֹב רַחֲמִיכָה לְנַעֲוִי לֵב
 31 [מִי כְמוֹכָה בְּאֵלִים אֲדוֹנִי וּמִי כְּאַמְתְּכָה וּמִי יִצְדָּק לְפָנֶיכָה בְּהַשְׁפָּטוֹ וְאִין
 32 לְהַשִּׁיב עַל תּוֹכַחְתְּכָה כֹּל צִבָּא רֹחַ וְלֹא יוֹכֵל כֹּל לְהַתִּיצֵב לְפָנֶי חֲנִי מִתְּךָ וְכֹל בְּנֵי
 33 אֲמַתְּכָה תְּבִיא בְּסִלִּיחוֹת לְפָנֶיכָה [לְטָה]רֵם מִפְּשָׁעֵיהֶם בְּרֹב טוֹבָכָה וּבַחֲמוֹן רַחֲמִיכָה
 34 לְהַעֲמִידֵם לְפָנֶיכָה לְעוֹלָמִי עַד כִּי אֵל עוֹלָם אַתָּה וְכֹל דְּרָכֶיכָה יִכּוֹנוּ לְנֶצַח
 35 [נִצְחָנִים] וְאִין זֹלַתְכָה וְמָה הוּא אִישׁ תְּהוּ וּבַעַל הַבַּל לְהַתְּכוֹן בְּמַעֲשֵׁי פְּלֹאךְ
 36 [הַגְּדוֹלִי]ם

29. I [give you thanks, O Lord],
 for you have given me insight into your truth,
 30. And the mysteries of your wonder you have made known to me
 and your mercy to a man []
 with the abundance of your compassion to the perverted heart.
 31. [Who is like y]ou among the gods, O Lord?
 and who is like your truth?
 and who is righ[te]ous before you when he is judged.
 32. And no (29) host of spirit can answer your reproach,
 and none can stand before your anger.
 33. And all the sons of (30) your truth you will bring before you in forgiveness,
 [to purify] them from their transgressions by the greatness of your goodness,
 and by the abundance of your com[pas]sion,
 34. to make them stand before you forever and ever.
 For you are an eternal God
 and all your ways are established forever and e[ver].
 35. And there is none apart from you.
 And what is the man of worthlessness and the lord of nothingness,
 36. that he should understand your wonderful (33) [great] deeds?

Column 17:38-17:41
 Sukenik col. 9:38-41; SHR 190402
 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 184-6

- [הַגְּבִרְתָּה עַד אִין מִסְפָּר] 38
 [שְׂמַכָּה בְּהַפְּלֵא מִן] 39
 [לֹאִי] הַשְׁבַּתְנִי 40
 [כָּלִי וְהַלֵּל] 41

38. [] you have increased without num[ber]
 39. [] your name by doing wonderful things m[
 40. [un]ceasingly [
 41. [] khw and praise [

Column 18:1-12
 Sukenik col. 10:1-12; SHR 190417
 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 186

- 1] מ]זמת לבכה]
 2] ל ובלוא רצונכה לא יהיה ולא יתבונן כול בחון
 3] יכה לא יביט כול ומה אפהו אדם ואדמה הוא]
 4 קורין ולעפר תשובתו כי תשכילנו בנפלאות כאלה ובסוד אן
 5 תודיענו ואני עפר ואפר מה אזור בלוא חפצתה ומה אתחשב
 6 באין רצונכה מה אתחזק בלא העמדתני ואיכה אכשיל⁹ בלא יצרתה
 7 לי ומה אדבר בלא פתחתה פי ואיכה אשיב בלוא השכלתני
 8 הנה אתה שר אלים ומלך נכבדים וארון לכול רוח ומושל בכל מעשה
 9 ומבלעדיכה לא יעשה כול ולא יודע בלוא רצונכה ואין זולתך
 10 ואין עמכה בכוח ואין לנגד כבודכה¹⁰ ולגבורתכה אין מחיר ומי
 11 בכול מעשי פלאכה הגדולים יעצור כוח להתיצב לפני כבודכה
 12 ומה אפהוא שב לעפרו כי יעצור [כוח] רק לכבודכה עשיתה כול אלה

1. [the p]lan of your heart [
2. []/ and without your will it shall not be.
And none understand *bhw*[
3. []*ykh* none looks upon.
What then is man? He is but earth. [
4. he is formed and to dust he shall return.
But you give him insight into wonders like these
5. and in the counsel '[] (5) you make known to him.
And I am dust and ashes, what can I plan unless you take delight in?
6. And what can I plan (6) without your will?
How can I show myself strong unless you make me stand,
7. and how can I gain insight unless you mould (7) me.
and what can I speak unless you open my mouth?
and how can I reply unless you give me insight?
8. Behold, you are the prince of gods and the king of the glorious ones,
and lord over every spirit and ruler over every creature.
9. And apart from you nothing can happen,
and nothing is revealed without your will
and there is none beside you
10. and there is none with you in power,
and there is none in comparison to your glory,
and for your might there is no price.
11. And who (11) among all the great works of your wonder can retain strength,
so as to stand before your glory?
12. And what then is he who returns to his dust, that he could retain [strength]?
Only for your glory have you done all these.

Column 18:14-19:2

Sukenik col. 10:14-11:2; SHR 190417

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 186-8

- 14 ברוך אתה אדוני אל הרחמים] [חסד כי הודעת]
 15 נפלאותכה ולא להם יומם ון
 16 לחסדכה בגדול טובכה ורן
 17 כי נשענתי באמתכה]

⁹ This word is read as אכשיל.

¹⁰ Sukenik mistakenly transcribed ככהבור.

18 מצנות] כה ובלא]	[גערטכה אין מכשול]
19 נגע בלוא ידעתה]	כה]
20 ואני לפי דעתי באמן	[ובהביטי בכבודכה אספרה
21 נפלאותיכה ובהביני ב]	[ה]מון רחמיכה ולסליחותיכה
22 אקוה כי אתה יצרתה]	[נכה הכינותני ולא נתתה
23 משעני על בצע ובה]	[בי ויצר בשר לא שמתה לי מעוז
24 חיל גבורים על רוב עד]	[וב דגן תירוש ויצהר
25 ויתרוממו]ב[מקנה וקנין]	[ענן על פלגי מים לשת עלה
26 ולהרבות ענף כי בח]	[אדם ולהדשן כול מארץ
27 ולבני אמתכה נתתה ש]	[עד]ו[לפי דעתם יכבד]
28 איש מרעהו וכן לבן א]	[ש הרביתה נח]לתו
29 בדעת אמתכה ולפי דעתו ו]	[ש עבדכה תעבה]
30 ובצע וברום עדנים לא]	[שש לבי בביתכה ואמתכ]ה]
31 תשעשע נפשי ואפרחה]	[ולבי נפתח למקור עולם
32 ומשענתי במעוז מרום ו]	[עמל ויבול בנין לפני]
33 ויתחולל לבי בחלחלה ומותני ברעדה ונהמתי עד תהום תבוא	
34 ובחדרי שאול תחפש יחד ואפחדה בשומעי משפטיכה עם גבורי	
35 כוח וריבכה עם צבא קדושיכ ^ה ב]	[שה
36 ומשפט ב]כ[ול מעשיכה וצדק]	[ל
[37	
] 38	תי]
] 39	עתי]
1 בפחדך	ע[מל מעיני ויגון]
2 בהגו לבי	

14. Blessed are you, O Lord, God of compassion, [] mercy,
for you have made known [
15. your wonderful deeds, and do not keep silence day and [
16. for your mercy, in your great goodness and r[
17. for I have leaned on your truth [
18. your w[ill] and without [] your rebuke there is no stumbling [
19. an affliction that you do not know [] kh
20. And I, in accordance with what I know of b'm[]
and when I consider your glory,
21. I will recount (21) your wonderful deeds,
and when I understand b[] the ab]undance of your compassion,
22. and for your forgiveness (22) I hope that you have formed [] nkh you have established me.
23. And you have not placed (23) my support upon unjust gain and bh[] by
and the inclination of the flesh you have not set for me as a refuge.
24. The strength of the mighty is on the abundance 'd[] wb, corn, wine, and oil
25. And they have exalted themselves [with] possession and property,
[] 'nn by streams of waters, to produce foliage
26. and to multiply branches, for bh[]] mankind,
and to make all grow fat from the earth,
27. and to the sons of your truth you have given š[] everlasting,
[and] in accordance with their knowledge honoured [
28. the one more than the other.
And thus to the son '[] š you have increased his in[heri]tance
29. through the knowledge of your truth,
and in accordance with his knowledge w[] š

- your servants abhors [
30. and unjust gain nor in the height of luxuries []
my heart rejoices in your covenant,
31. and [yo]ur truth (31) my soul delights.
And I flourish []
and my heart is opened to an eternal spring,
32. and my support is in the refuge from above and [] mischief
and it withers like flower before [
33. And my heart goes mad in anxiety,
and my loins in trembling,
and my groaning reaches to the deeps
34. and searches even into the chamber of Sheol,
and I am terrified when I hear your judgement against the mighty warriors,
35. and your case against the host of your holy ones b[]šh
36. and judgement over [a]ll your creatures and justice []/
37.]
38. []ty
39. []'ty
1. in te[rror mis]chief from my eyes and gr[ief]
2. through the meditation of my heart.

Column 19:3-14

Sukenik col. 11:3-14; SHR 190419

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 188

- 3 אודכה אלי כי הפלתה עם עפר וביצר חמר הגברתה מודה ואני מה כיא
- 4 [] תני בסוד אמתכה ותשכילני במעשי פלאכה ותתן בפי הודות ובלשוני
- 5 [] ה ומול שפתי במכון רנה ואזמרה בחסדיכה ובגבורתכה אשוחכה כול
- 6 היום תמיד אברכה שמכה ואספרה כבודכה בתוך בני אדם וברוב טובכה
- 7 תשתעשע נפשי ואני ידעתי כי אמת פיכה ובידכה צדקה ובמחשבתכה
- 8 כול דעה ובכוחכה כול גבורה וכול כבוד אתכה הוא באפכה כול משפטי נגע
- 9 ובטובכה רוב סליחות ורחמיכה לכול בני רצונכה כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה
- 10 וברזי פלאכה השכלתם ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע להתקדש
- 11 לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל להיחד [עם] בני אמתך ובגורל עם
- 12 קדושיכה להרים מעפר תולעת מתים לסוד [עולם] ומרוח נעוה לבינת[כה]
- 13 ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד ורוחין [להתחדש עם כול
- 14 נהיה ועם ידעים ביחד רנה

3. I give you thanks, my God,
for you have done wonderful things with dust,
and with the creature of clay you have strengthened exceedingly.
and what am I?
4. For (4) []my in the counsel of your truth,
and you have given me insight into your wonderful deeds,
and you have put into my mouth praises
and into my tongue
5. []h and my uncircumcised lips in a place of rejoicing,
and I will sing of your lovingkindness,
and on your strength I will meditate all the day,
6. continually I will bless your name.
and I will recount your glory among the sons of man
7. and in the greatness of your goodness (7) my soul will delight.
And I know that truth is in your mouth,

- and in your hand is righteousness,
 8. and in your thought (8) all knowledge,
 and in your power all might,
 and all glory is with you.
 In your wrath are all the judgements of affliction
 9. but in your goodness is great forgiveness,
 and your compassion for all the sons of your pleasure,
 for you have caused them to know the counsel of your truth,
 10. and into your wonderful mysteries you have given them insight.
 And for the sake of your glory you have cleansed man from transgression,
 11. that he may sanctify himself (11) for you
 from all abominations of impurity and guilt of unfaithfulness,
 to be united [with] the sons of your truth,
 12. and in lot with (12) your holy ones,
 to raise up from dust the worms of the dead to an [eternal] council,
 and from perverted spirit to [your] understanding
 13. and that he may station himself in position before you
 with an eternal host and spirits of [],
 14. to be renewed with all (14) that is
 and with those who know in the community of rejoicing.

Column 19:15-38

Sukenik col. 11:15-38; ; SHR 190419

4Q427 frg. 1; 4Q428 frg. 8 col. I

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 188-90

- 15 אודכה אלי ארוממכה צורי ובחפלאן
 16 [] כי חודעתי סוד אמת]
 17 [נפלאו]תין[כ]ה גליתה לי ואביט]
 18 [כי] לכה הצדק ובחסדיכה ישן]
 19 ואני נפתח לי מקור לאבל מרורים]
 20 בדעתי יצרי גבר ותשובת אנוש [אתבונן ואכירה]¹¹ לחטאה ויגון
 21 אשמה ויבואו בלבבי ויגעו בעצמי
 22a ואנחה בכנור קינה לכול אבל יגון]¹²
 22 יגון ומספר מרורים עד כלות עולה ואן
 23 אזמרה בכנור ישועות ונבל שמן
 24 חשבת ומי בכול מעשיכה יוכל לספר]
 25 שמכה לעולמי עד יברכוכה בפי שכן
 26 בקול רנה ואין יגון ואנחה ועולה] לא תמצא עור]¹³ ואמתכה תופיע
 27 לכבוד עד ושלוש עולום ברוך אתנה
 28 שכל דעה להבין בנפלאותיכה]
 29 ברוך אתה אל הרחמים וה¹⁴נינה בגדון] וכה ורוב אמתכה והמונן]
 30 חסדיכה בכול מעשיכה שמח נפש עבדכה באמתכה וטהרני
 31 בצדקתכה כאשר יחלתי לטובכה ולחסדיכה אקה ולסליחותיכה]

¹¹ This restoration is taken from 4Q427 frg. 1:3.

¹² There is an interlinear insertion above line 22, which is labelled as 22a here. This series of words should be inserted after יגון and before ומספר as confirmed by 4Q427 frg. 1:4.

¹³ This restoration is taken from 4Q428 frg. 8 iii 2-3.

32 פתחתה משכרי וביגוני נחמתני כיא נשנת¹⁴ ברחמיכה ברוך אתה]

33 אדוני כי אתה פעלתה אלה ותשם בפי עבדכה]

34 ותחנה ומענה לשון והכינותה לי []עול]

35 ואעצור]

36 ואתה]

37 אמן]

38 וא]

15. I give you thanks, my God;
I exalt you, my rock, and in doing wonders [
16. []ky you have caused me to know the counsel of truth [
17. [yo]ur [wonderful deed]s you have revealed to me,
and I contemplate []y mercy,
18. and I know (18) [that] to you belong the righteousness,
and in your mercy yš[]h and destruction without your compassion.
19. And I, a source of bitter sorrow was opened to me,
[] mischief was not hidden from my eyes.
20. When I knew the inclination of man and the reply of mankind [I understand]
21. [and I recognise] sin and the grief of (21) guilt.
And they have entered into my heart
and penetrated into [my] bones []ym
22. and to moan sighing (22a) and groaning
with the lyre of lamentation for every mourning of an[guish],
(22) and bitter wailing until iniquity ceases and '[]
and there is no plague to cause weakness.
23. And then (23) I will sing with the lyre of salvation and the zither šm[]/h
and the flute of praise unceasingly
24. And who among all your creatures can declare []kh
with the mouth of them all is your name praised
25. forever and ever they will bless you according to šk[]ym
26. they will proclaim together (26) with the voice of rejoicing
and there is no anguish nor groaning,
and injustice [will not be found forever],
27. and your truth you will shine forth (27) for endless glory and eternal peace.

- Blessed are yo[u]šr you have given l[
28. the insight of knowledge to understand your wonderful deeds []spr
through the abundance of your mercy.
29. Blessed are you, God of compassion and grace,
bgdw[]wkh and the greatness of your truth,
30. and the abundan[ce] of (30) your mercy towards all your creatures.

- Gladden the soul of your servant with your truth,
31. and cleanse me (31) with your righteousness
as I wait for your goodness and for your mery I hope
32. and by [your] forgiveness (32) you have relieved my breakdown
and in my grief you have comforted me,
for I have leaned on your compassion.
33. Blessed are yo[u], (33) O Lord, for you have done these things,
and you put in the mouth of your servant [
34. and a supplication and a reply of the tongue
and you have established for me []'w/[]
35. and 'iṣw[

¹⁴ Read as נשענת¹⁴ due to the assimilation of ע.

36. And you [

37. 'm[

38. and '[

Column 20:1-37

Sukenik col. 12:1-37; frgs. 54, 60

4Q427 frg. 2, 3 col. II, 4; 4Q428 frg. 8 col. II

SHR 190411, 190407, 4328

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 190-2

- 1] תדה־ נפש]
- 2] ה לבטח במעון קן] בשקט ושלוה
- 3] עם רחות עולם¹⁵] אהלו בן] וישועה ואהללה שמכה בתוך יראיכה
- 4] למשכיל הו[רות¹⁶ ותפלה ל־תנ־ל והתחנן תמיד מקצ לקצ עם מבוא אור
- 5 ממן] בתקופות יום לתכוננו להוקות מאור גדול בפנות ערב ומוצא
- 6 אור ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה בתקופתו ל־נות בוקר ובקצ
- 7 האספו ל־ל מ־נתנו מפני¹⁷ אור למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד בכול
- 8 מולדי עת יסודי קצ ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם לכול
- 9 ממשלתם בתכון נאמנה מפי אל ותעודת הווה והיא תהיה
- 10 ואין אפס וזולתה לוא היה ולוא יהיה עוד כי אל ה[ד]י עות
- 11 הכינה ואין אחר עמו ואני משכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח
- 12 אשר נתתה בי ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה ברוח ק־דשכה
- 13]פ[תחתה לתוכי דעת ברז שכלכה ומעין גבור[כה]יך
- 14] ה לרוב חסד וקנאת כלה והשב]
- 15] הדר כבודכה לאור ען]
- 16] חדר רשעה ואין רמיה]
- 17] עדרי שממה כיא אין ען]
- 18] א[ין עוד מדהבה כיא לפני אפ[כה
- 19] חפזי ואין צדיק עמכה] ה[
- 20]ל[השכיל בכול רזיכה ולשיב דבר]
- 21]ל[תוכחתכה ולטובכה יצפו כ־א בחס[נ]כה
- 22 וידעוכה ובקצ כבודכה יגילו ולפין] כשכלם
- 23 הגשתם ולפי ממשלתם ישרתוכה למפלגן] ב ממכה
- 24 לוא לעבור על דברכה ואני מעפר לקן] רצתי
- 25 למקור נדה וערות קלון מקוי עפר ומגבן] ה ומדור
- 26 חושך ותשובת עפר ליצר חמר בקצ ען] כעפר
- 27 אל אשר לקח משם ומה ישיב עפר ון] יבין
- 28] שיו ומה יתיצב לפני מוכיח בן] ורש
- 29] עולם ומקוי כבוד ומקור דעת וגבון] [המה לן] א
- 30] לספר כול כבודכה ול־תיצב לפני אפכה ואין להשיב
- 31 על תוכחתכה כיא צדקתה ואין לנגדכה ומה אפחו שב אל עפרו

¹⁵ This restoration is taken from 4Q427 frg. 3 ii 4.

¹⁶ This restoration is taken from 4Q427 frg. 3 ii 5 and 4Q428 frg. 8 ii 10.

¹⁷ A letter has been erased from the text.

32 ואני נאלמתי ומה אדבר על זאת כדעתי רברתי מצידוק יצר חמר ומה
 33 אדבר כיא אם פתחתה פי ואיכה אבין כיא אם השכלתני ומה און
 34 בלוא גליתיה לבי ואיכה אישר דרך כיא אם הכין
 35 תעמוד פן [חזק בכוח ואיכה אתקומם]
 36 וכולן [ו במי בן]
 37]

1. [] *tdh*. soul [
2. [] *h* safely in the dwelling *q*[in quiet]ness and at ease
3. [with eternal spirits] his tent *b*[] and salvation
and I will praise your name among those who fear you.
4. [To the instructor, pr]aises and prayer,
to prostrate myself and seek favour always, from time to time,
at the coming of the light,
5. *mm*[] through the course of the day in its order
in accordance with the laws of the great luminary,
6. at the turn of the evening and the departure of (6) light,
at the beginning of the dominion of darkness,
at the appointed time of the night according to its course,
to the turn of the morning
7. and at the time (7) when it withdraws to its dwelling before the light,
at the departure of the night and the coming of the day continuously,
8. at all the births of time, the foundations of the period,
and the course of the seasons in their order
9. by their signs for all (9) their dominion,
in the order established from God's mouth and the testimony of existence,
10. and this shall be (10) and there is no more.
And besides it there has not been, nor will there ever be.
For God of knowledge has established it
11. and there is none besides him.
And I, the Instructor, have known you, my God,
12. by the spirit (12) which you have given me,
and faithfully I have listened to the counsel of your wonder by the spirit of your holiness.
13. You have [op]ened knowledge to my innermost parts
by the mystery of your insight and the spring of [your] strength [] *lyk*
14. [] *h* to the abundance of mercy and the zeal for destruction and *hšb*[
15. [] the majesty of your glory to light '[
16. [] *hd* wickedness and there is no deceit [
17. [] *'dy* ruin, for there is no '[
18. [] there is [no] more raging, because before [your] anger [
19. [] *hpy* And there is none righteous with you [] *h*
20. [to] gain insight into all your mysteries and to return a word [
21. [for] your reproach and for your goodness they watch, for in [your] mer[cy]
22. and they know you and in the time of your glory they will rejoice,
and in accordance with []
23. according to their insight (23) you will bring them near
and in accordance with their dominion they will serve you *implg*[] *b* from you
24. not to transgress your word.
And I, from dust *lq*[] *ršty*
25. to a source of impurity and shame of disgrace,
a pile of dust and *mgb*[] *h* and a dwelling of darkness.
26. And the return to dust for the creature of clay at the time '[] in the dust
27. to the place from which it is taken,
and what can the dust reply and [] *lybyn*,
28. [] *šyw* and how can he station himself before the one who reproaches *bw*[] *wdš*
29. [] eternal, and collections of glory and spring of knowledge and *gbw*[] they *l*[]'

30. [] to recount all your glory and to station himself before your anger,
31. and there is none to give a reply (31) to your reproach,
for you are righteous and there is none before you,
and what then is the one who returns to his dust,
32. and I am dumb and what can I say about this?
In accordance with my knowledge I have spoken, *msydwq*, a creature of clay.
33. and what (33) can I say unless you open my mouth,
and how can I understand unless you give me insight,
34. and what 'w[] (34) except that you open my heart?
and how can I tread the straight path unless *hky*[
35. stands *p*[] *hzq* with strength,
and how can I raise myself [
36. and *kw*/[] *w* with whom *b*[
37.]

Column 21:1-18 (Top)

Sukenik col. 18:16-33; SHR 4302

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 192-4

Puech, 51-2

שע ילוד א]שה	] תים ל	] 1
כח] [צדקתכה		] 2
א ראתי זאת		] 3
איכה] אביט בלוא גליתה עיני ואשמעה		] 4
השם [ל]בבי כיא לערל אוזן נפתח דבר ולב		] 5
ואדעה כיא לכה עשיתה אלה אלי ומה בשר		] 6
לה]פליא ובמחשבתכה להגביר ולהכין כול לכבודכה		] 7
צבא דעת לספר ל]שר גבור]ת וחוקי נכונות לילוד		] 8
אותה בברית עמכה ותגלה לב עפר להשמר	9] אשה	
מפחי משפט לעומת רחמיכה ואני יצר		] 10
ר ולב האבן למי נחשבתי עד זאת כיא		] 11
תתה באוזן עפר ונהיות עולם חקוהה בלב		] 12
השבתה להביא בברית עמכה ולעמוד		] 13
במכון עולם לאור אורתום עד נצח ון [חושך		] 14
סוף וקצי שלום לאין חן		] 15
ואני יצר העפר ]		] 16
ה אפתח]		] 17
צ]		] 18

1. [] *tym* / [] *š* 'one born of a wo[man
2. [] *kh* [] your righteousness
3. [] 'I have seen this
4. [how] can I see unless you open my eyes, and hear
5. [] my [he]art is appalled, for to an uncircumcised ear a word is revealed and the heart
6. [] and I know that for yourself you have done these, my God.
7. and what is flesh (7) [to do] wonders
and in your plan to show strength and to establish all things for your glory.
8. [] the host of knowledge to declare great deeds to flesh,
9. and established statutes to one born of (9) [a woman] 'with into the covenant with you,
and you open the heart of dust so as to keep
10. [] from the snares of judgement in accordance with your compassion,

11. and I am a creature (11) []r and a heart of stone.
To what should I be reckoned until this?
12. For (12) []th to the ear of dust,
and you have inscribed what is to happen forever in the heart
13. [] you have put an end, to bring into the covenant with you, and to stand
14. [] on the fixed place of eternity, to the light of perfect light forever and [] darkness
15. [] end and times of peace without h[
16. [] and I am a creature of dust [
17. []h I open [
18. []s[

Column 21:1-18 (Bottom)

Sukenik frg 3; SHR 4305

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 194

Puech, 51-2

	[1
נפתחה דרך ל]	2
[נתיבות שלום ועם בשר להפליא]	3
[ופעמי על מטוני פחיה ומפרש]	4
[אשמר ביצר עפר מהתפרר ומתוך דונג]	5
[מקוי אפר איכה אעמוד לפני רוח סוע]	6
[וישמורחו לרזי חפצו כיא הוא ידע למ]	7
[ר כלה ופח לפח יטמונו צמי רשעה]	8
[ו בעול ותמו כול יצר רמיה כיא לא]	9
[לאין ואפס יצר עולה ומעשי רמיה]	10
[ואני יצר ה]	11
[מה יתחזק לכה אתה אל]	12
[עשיתם ומבלעדיכה לוא]	13
[העפר ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי]	14
[מה] ל עולה ורמיה יגורו וחדל זדון]	15
[עשי נדה לתהלוויים ומשפטי נגע וכלה]	16
[לכה חמה וקנאה נון]	17
[יצר]	18

1.]
2.] the path is open I[
3.] the tracks of peace, and with flesh to do wonders [
4.] and my steps over those who hide its traps and who spread [
5.] I will keep the one formed from dust from being scattered, and from among wax[
6.] heap of ash, how can I stand before the wind sw'[
7.] and he protects him for the mysteries of his pleasure, for he knows lm[
8.]r destruction. And they have hidden trap upon trap, the snares of wickedness [
9.]w in injustice. And every creature of deceit will come to an end, for not [
10.]/yn And there will be no more inclination of injustice nor works of deceit [
11.] And I, creature of h[
12.] how can he be strong before you? You are the God [
13.] You have made them and without you not [
14.] the dust, I know by the spirit which you have given me [
15.]mh[]/ injustice and deceit will be driven out, and insolence will cease [
16.] 'sy impurity to sickness and judgements of affliction and destruction [

17.] to you is wrath and zeal *mw*[
 18.] creature [

Column 22:1-18 (Top)

Sukenik frgs. 1, 52; SHR 4321, 4277

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 194-6

Puech, 51-2

	[1
	[2
	[3
דש אשר בשמים	4
דול והואה פלא והם לוא יוכלו	5
תיכה ולוא יעצורו לדעת בכול	6
ב אל עפרו ואני איש פשע ומגולל	7
אשמת רשעה ואני בקצי חרון	8
תקומם לפני נגעי ולהשמר	9
ענו אלה כיא יש מקוה לאיש	10
נעל ואני יצר החמר נשענתי	11
אלי ואדעה כיא אמת	12
אחור ואני בקצי אתמוכה	13
מה במעמד העמדתני כיא	14
איש ותשיבהו ובמה ית	15
עצמתה]	16
בושה ללוא מקונה	17
ואני יצר	18

1.]
2.]
3.]
4.]*dš* which is in heaven
5.]*dwl* and it is a wonder. And they cannot
6.]*tykh* and they are not able to know all
7.]*b* to its dust. And I am a man of transgression and defiled
8.] guilt of wickedness. And I, in the periods of wrath,
9.]*iqwmm* before my afflictions, and to be preserved from
10.]*'mw* these things. For there is hope for man
11.]*n'l* And I am a creature of clay, I have leaned
12.] my God. And I know that truth
13.]*'hwr* And I, in my times, will hold on
14.]*mh* on place of standing you have set me, for
15.] man, and you have made him return, and for what *yf*[
16.] you are strong [
17.]*bwšh* without hop[e
18.] and I, a creature [

Column 22:1-5 (Middle)

Sukenik frg. 47; SHR 4260B

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 196

- 1 [נשמח]
- 2 [נדיבים לוא]
- 3 לי מאז כוננתי לן
- 4 לוא יבוא כי]
- 5 כמבניתי ותכמן]

1.] will rejoice [
2.] the volunteers do not [
3. for me from the time when I was established / [
4. he will not enter, for [
5.] like my structure, and [my] entrails [

Column 22:1-20 (Bottom)

Sukenik frg. 4; SHR 4307

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 196

Puech, 51-2

- [1
- 2 [אשר]
- 3 [ב ובוךר עם]
- 4 [עי גבר וממכ]
- 5 [ורת יצפו ועל משמרתם]
- 6 [תג'ר בכול שטן משחית ומר]
- 7 [בה ואתה גליתא אוזני כי]
- 8 [אנוש וברית פותו בם ויבוא]
- 9 [כחות לפניכה ואני פחדתי ממשפטכה]
- 10 [יכה ומי יזכה במשפטכה ומה אפה]
- 11 [אני במשפט ושב אל עפרו מה]
- 12 [פתחתה לבבי לבינתכה ותגל אוןני
- 13 [להשען על טובכה ויהם לבי]
- 14 [ולבבי כדונג ימס על פשע וחטאה
- 15 [תימה ברוך אתה אל הדעות אשר הכינו[תה]
- 16 [ותפגע בעבדכה זאת למענכה כיא ידעתי
- 17 [כה א'ל בכול היותי ושמכה אברכה תמיד
- 18 [דכה אל תעזובני בקצי
- 19 [וכבודכה וט]
- 20 על]

1.]
2.] which [
3.]b and morning with [
4.]'y man and mmk[
5.]wrt they keep watch and upon their watch [
6.] you rebuke every adversary that destroys and mr[
7.]bh And you have opened my ear, for [

8.] men, and the covenant of him who has been seduced by them and *ybw* [
9.] *khw* before you and I was in dread at your judgement [
10.] *ykh* and who is pure in your judgement? And what '*ph* [
11.] '*ny* in the judgement? And he who returns to his dust, what [
12.] you have opened my heart to your insight, and you have opened [my ea]rs [
13.] to lean on your goodness. But my heart is perturbed [
14.] and my heart dissolves like wax because of transgression and sin.
15.] *tymh* Blessed are you, God of knowledge, who have established
16.] and this happens to your servant for your sake, for I know
17.] *kh* I hope with all my being and you name I will bless always
18.] *dkh* Do not forsake me in times of [
19.] and your glory *wf* [
20.] upon [

Column 23:1-16 (Top)

Sukenik col. 18:1-15; SHR 4303, 190412

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 196-8

Puech, 51-2

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 אורכה ותעמד מא] | 1 אורכה ותעמד מא] |
| 2 אורכה לאין חשב[| 2 אורכה לאין חשב[|
| 3 כיא אתכה אור ל] | 3 כיא אתכה אור ל] |
| 4 ותגל אוזן עפר] | 4 ותגל אוזן עפר] |
| 5 מזמה אשר הו] | 5 מזמה אשר הו] |
| 6 עבדכה עד עולם] | 6 עבדכה עד עולם] |
| 7 לעיני כול ש'מע] | 7 לעיני כול ש'מע] |
| 8 בכוח גבורתכה] | 8 בכוח גבורתכה] |
| 9 אל תשב ידכה] | 9 אל תשב ידכה] |
| 10 ועומד לפניכה] | 10 ועומד לפניכה] |
| 11 חקקה על קו] | 11 חקקה על קו] |
| 12 לעפר כמוני ותפתח מק] | 12 לעפר כמוני ותפתח מק] |
| 13 אשה כמעשיו ולפתח מ] | 13 אשה כמעשיו ולפתח מ] |
| 14 ל] [כאמתכה מבשר] | 14 ל] [כאמתכה מבשר] |
| 15] [ע ממקור] | 15] [ע ממקור] |
| 16] | 16] |

1. your light and you have set up *m*'[
2. your light without cea[se
3. for with you is light / [
4. and you have opened the ear of dust [] and *hw* [
5. the plan which *hw* [] his anger '[] *k* and you have established *ba* [
6. your servant forever [] *mw* '*wt* of your wonder,
7. to reveal yourself (7) to the eyes of all those who hear []
- by the right (hand) of your strength *lnhl* [
8. by the power of your strength [] for your name,
- and you show yourself great *bkbw* [
9. Do not withdraw your hand [] that he might] be the one who holds fast to your covenant,
10. and who stands in your presence [] *wr*
- you have opened the mouth of your servant,
11. and on his tongue (11) you have inscribed upon *qw* [] to pro]claim to a creature his insight,
12. and to be a mediator in these things (12) to dust such as myself,
- and you have opened *mq* [] to reprove the creature of clay of his way,

13. and the guilt of one born of (13) a woman according to his deeds,
and to open m[] your truth to the creature whom you have supported by your power,
14. l[] according to your truth, bearing good tidings [] your goodness,
to preach to the poor the abundance of your compassion
15. [] ' from the spring [] y' spirit, and mourning to eternal joy.
16.]

Column 23:1-18 (Bottom)

Sukenik frg. 2; SHR 4304

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 198

Puech, 51-2

	[1
	[2
	[3 ובארצכה ובבני אלים ובבנ]
4	[ללכה ולספר כול כבודכה ואני מה כיא מעפר לוקתתי וא]
5	[ורכה עשיתה כול אלה כרוב חסדיכה תן משמר צדקכה
6	[ה תמיד עד פלט ומליצי דעת עם כול צעודי ומוכיחי אמת
7	[כי א מה עפר בכ] [שה אפר בידם לוא הנה ואתה
8	[חמר ומצו] [רצונכה על הבנים תבחננני
9	[גו ולכה] [ברי ועל עפר הניפותה רוח
10	[בטיט] [אלים להחיר עם בני שמים
11	[ולם ואין תשבת חושך כיא
12	[ומאור גליתה ולוא להשיב
13	[דשכה הניפותה לכפר אשמה
14	[רתים עם צבאכה ומתהלכים
15	[בות מלפניכה כיא נכונו באמתכה
16	[הפלתה אלה לכבודכה ומצידוק
17	[עול יצר נתעב
18	יצר נתעב

1.]
2.]
3.] and in your land and among sons of gods and bbn[
4.]lkh and to declare all your glory. And what am I? For from dust I have been taken and '[
5.]wdkh you have made all these,
according to the abundance of your mercy give the guarding of your righteousness
6.]h continually unto deliverance,
and interpreters of knowledge with all my steps, and reproachers of truth
7.] for what is dust? bk[]sh ashes in their hand. They are nothing. But you
8.] clay and msw[] your will; and upon the stones (?) you have tested me
9.]gw wlkh[]bry and upon dust you have stretched out the spirit
10.]btyt[] gods to unite with the sons of heaven
11.]wlm and there is no return of darkness. For
12.] and light you have revealed, but not to make return
13.]dskh you have stretched out to atone for guilt
14.]rtym with your host, and those who wander
15.]bwt from before you, for they are established in your truth
16.] you have done these wonderfully for your glory. And msydwq
17.] the injustice of the abominable creature
18.] abominable [crea]ture.

Column 24:1-13 (Top)

Sukenik frgs. 9, 50, 57 II; SHR 3425, 190440, 4277, 4301

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 198

Puech, 51-2

[	1
יצר בשר	2
[מי יועדכה	3
[למלאכי	4 במשפטו]
ורזי פשע להשנות	5
[ויעופפו בה כול	6 בשר ב]
[ם כעבותי רוח ותכנע	7 מלאכי]
[יכה במעון כבודכה ואתה	8 אלים ממכון]
[אסיר עד קצ רצונכה	9 אדם על]
[רמות כוח ורוב בשר להרשיע	10 ולשלח]
[א להכין בסוד עמכה	11 בק]
[ממזרים כול	12
[גד]	13

1.]
2.] creature of flesh
3.] who will summon you
4. at his judgement [] to the angels of
5.] and mysteries of transgression, to change
6. flesh b[] and above it will fly
7. all (7) the angels of []m as the cords of the spirit, and you have humbled
8. the gods from the foundation []ykh in the dwelling of your glory, and you
9. man upon [] I withdraw until the time of your acceptance
10. and to send []rmwt of power and the abundance of flesh to condemn
11. bq[] 'to establish in council with you
12.] the bastards, all [
13.] gd[

Column 24:1-8 (Middle)

Sukenik frg. 45; SHR 190407

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 198

[צדקה וע]	1
[עב לשחת בעת עווניו]	2
[ם כול שטן ומשחית]	3
[גרשתם ולשלחם גוי ב]	4
[איש זורן במרבי מעל וע]	5
[בים בבסר כי כול רוחות]	6
[הרשיעו בחייהם]	7
[ל]	8

1.] righteousness w '[

2.]'b to the pit in time of [his] iniquities [
3.]m every adversary and destroyer [
4.] their acts of expulsion and to send them away, a people b[
5.] man of insolence in the greatness of unfaithfulness w '[
6.]bym with contempt, for all the spirits [
7.] they have acted wickedly during their lives [
8.]/[

Column 24:1-16 (Bottom)

Sukenik frg. 2II, 6; SHR 3425; 190412; 190407

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 200

Puech, 51-2

רשע [	1
ם ובמשפטים	2
ממזרים להרשיע בבשר	3
כן רוחם להושיע	4
פלא רזיכה גליתה	5
אני לבשר ידעתי	6 לב]
ם עולה בקצ	7 כי]
יה ולכול מביט	8 כל]
ולו יכחד	9
עבדתה מבני	10
עולות עמים [	11 אל ש]
רבות אשמה	12 לחזקם]
עזבתם ביד	13 בנחלתו]
	14 כול מכ]
	15 תב]
	16 על]

1.] wickedness
2.]m and in judgements
3.] the bastards to condemn the flesh as guilty
4.]kn their spirit to save
5. won]der of your mysteries you have revealed
6. lb[]'ny to the flesh I know
7. ki[]m injustice in time of
8. kl[]yh and for all who consider
9.] and he will not hide
10.] you have [wor]ked more than the sons of
11. God š[] the unrighteous acts of the peoples
12. to strengthen them []rbwt guilt
13. in his inheritance [] you have abandoned them into the hand of
14. all mk[
15. tb[
16. upon [

Column 25:1-14 (Top)

Sukenik frgs. 5, 46 I, 56 I; SHR 190412, 190407

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 200

- 1 [ט צדק]
- 2 [הפרידם ממעמד]
- 3 [ות עם עדת קדושיכה בהפלא]
- 4 [ע]ר ע[ן]לם ורוחות רשעה תבית מא]
- 5 [לוא יהיו עוד ותשם מקום ר] [כול
- 6 רוחות עולה אשר יושדו לאבל]
- 7 ועדן לדורי נצח וברום רשעה למ]
- 8 רבה אנינם לכלה ונגד כול מעש כ]ה
- 9 חסדיכה ולדעת כול בכבודכה ולפ] [דעתה
- 10 משפט אמתכה ואוזן בשר גליתה ו] [יש במזמת
- 11 לבכה וקצ תעודה השכלתה לב] [שפוט במרום
- 12 וביושבי האדמה על האדמה וגם] [ביושבי
- 13 חושך תריב לאצו] [דוק ולהר]
- 14 ולוא להפרד] ברכה]

1.]t righteousness [
2.] disperse them from the place of standing [
3.]wt together with the congregation of your holy ones by doing wonders [
4. [f]orever. And the spirits of wickedness tbyt m'[
5.] they shall no longer be, and you destroy the place r[] all
6. spirits of iniquity which have been devastated to mourning [
7. and pleasure for eternal generations, and when wickedness arises lm[
8. great, I will let them grow to destruction and in the face of all [yo]ur deeds [
9. your mercy, and to know all things in your glory and lp[]d'th
10. the judgement of your truth, and the ear of flesh you have opened and []yš in the plan of
11. your heart and the time of testimony you have made known lb[]špw[in the height
12. and in the inhabitants of the land upon the land and also [] in the inhabitants of
13. darkness. You will contend l'sw[]dwq and lhr[
14. and not to scatter []brkh [

Column 25:1-13 (Bottom)

Sukenik frgs. 8, 7 I; SHR 190407, 4310, 3425

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 200

Puech, 51-2

- [1
- [2
- 3 ותרימ]
- 4 עצה ו]
- 5 משרתים]
- 6 והכירום]
- 7 ולהלל ל] [ידעתי
- 8 ספרתי וע] [אל
- 9 הדעות]
- 10 למשכיל מ]
- 11 כי] [מלכי קדם

מתו[	12
רומה[	13

1.]
2.]
3. and you exalt [
4. counsel and [
5. those who serve [
6. and they regard them [
7. and to praise /l[]yd'ty
8. I have declared and '[]
9. God of (9) knowledge [
10. For the instructor, m[
11. for [] kings of old
12.]mtw
13.]dwmh

Column 26:6-16 (Top)

Sukenik frags. 46 II, 55 II, 56 II; SHR 190407, 4260B

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 200-2

Puech, 51-2

[6
7 יבוא]
8 וכבוד]
9 בי וה]
10 שמח]
11 רומם]
[12
[13
14 ביחד]
15 ים ולגלות נסתרות]
16 פיל נועדת רום גא]

6.]
7.] he will come [
8. and glory [
9. on me and h[
10. šmh[
11. exalt [
12.]
13.]
14. in the community [
15.]ym and to reveal hidden things [
16.]pyl the exalted meetings g'[

Column 26:1-13 (Bottom)

Sukenik frags. 7 II; SHR 190401, 4310, 3425, 4328

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 202

Puech, 51-2

- 1 עור]
- 2 רום לאין שרית וין
- 3 וגבוה בקומה ועם]
- 4 עולם וכשלי ארצ ון
- 5 ושמחת עולם במכונון
- 6 {להודיע גבורה}]
- 7 בדעתם ברית חסד]
- 8 אל הצדק והשכלן
- 9 בכוח גבורה והן
- 10 מה בשר לאלה ון
- 11 ולהתיצב במעמך
- 12 להשיב דבר בן
- 13 לן

1. yet [
2. height without a remnant and y[
3. and high in height and with [
4. eternal, and those who stumble upon the land and [
5. and everlasting joy *bmkwmv*[
6. {to declare strength} [
7. that they may know the covenant of mercy [
8. God of righteousness and *hškl*[
9. by the strength of might and *h*[
10. what is flesh to these? and [
11. and to station himself *bm 'm*[
12. to give a reply *b*[
13. *l*[

4Q427 frg.1 1-7

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 254

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 892-4

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| תה[ל]י ואביטן |] 1 |
| וכלה בלוא רחמיכה ואנין |] 2 |
| בר ותן [אנוש אתבוננן { ואכירה ול |] 3 |
| ת הגי יגן [אנחה בכנור קן] לכול אבן |] 4 |
| ישועות ונבלן |] 5 |
| י כולמה []לל שמכנה |] 6 |
| לן |] 7 |

1. [*lth* [to] me and I have considered [
2. [*wklh* without your compassion and I [
3. [*br* and *l*[] man, I consider diligently and I pay attention and *l*[
4. [*l* meditation *yg*[] sighing with lyre *q*[] for all 'b[
5. [] salvation and the harp [
6. [*l*y all of them []// [your] name [
7. [*l*[

4Q427 frg.2, 3 col. II 3-15

ח במעון שלום	3]
ועה ואנה ללה שמכנה	4 עם רחות עון
	5 למשכיל הודות
	6 מבא אור לממשל
	7 אור בראשית ממשלות חן
	8 אל מעונתו מפני אור למ
	9 ותקופות מועדים]
	10 הורה והיא
	11 הדעות חכ
	12 ואני משן
	13 ברוח
	14 לרון
	15 עון

3. []h in the dwelling place of pea[ce	
4. with spirits 'w[]w'h and I will [pr]aise [your] name [
5. For the instructor, give thanks [
6. the coming of the light to dominion [
7. light at the beginning of the dominions h[
8. to its inhabitation before the light lm[
9. and the course of appointed seasons [
10. what is. And this [
11. knowledge hk[
12. and I mš[
13. by the spirit [
14. lrw[
15. 'w[

4Q427 frg.3 col. I 1-15
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 255
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 896

	1 [
וכפי דעתמה בכבודכה	2]
שמיעו ומועד למועד	3]
עם ידעים נוסרה לכה ונרננה	4]
בהפלא נספרה יחד בעדת אל ועם	5]
הודעתה עמ בני איש בתוכ בני אדם	6]
	7]
רנה גדול אל המפלי	8]
יר	9]
תה איש	10]
בל אור ממשל	11]
כיא זוקקה	12]
לעולם ומאור ברכה	13]

1.]
2. [] and in accordance with their knowledge by your glory [
3. [] they proclaim and from appointed time to appointed time [
4. [] with those who know we are chastened by you and we give a ringing cry
5. [] wondrously we will recount together the knowledge of God and with
6. [] you have made known together with the sons of man
in the midst of the sons of Adam
7.]
8. [] a loud ringing cry to those who make wonders
9. []*w*
10. []*th* man
11. []*bl* light, dominion
12. [] for he purifies
13. [] forever and luminary of blessing
14. [] an]guish and sighing
15. []*hmt*

4Q427 frg. 5 1-4
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257

- | | |
|----------------|-----|
| ט לעומת ר] |] 1 |
| למי נחשב]תי |] 2 |
| ם חקוה בלבן] |] 3 |
| מ]שפטי ערים ב] |] 4 |

1. []*t* in accordance with *r*[
2. []*lmy* [I] shall be reckoned [
3. []*m* you have inscribed into the heart [
4. [] the [ju]dgements of the cities *b*[

4Q427 frg. 6 1-4
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257

- | | |
|------------------|-----|
| בשר] [|] 1 |
|]פרשי רשת וע] |] 2 |
|]ג בהמס לפני אש] |] 3 |
|]ואני יכניני ב] |] 4 |

1. [] flesh [
2. [] he who spread a net and '[
3. []*g* when it dissolves before the fire [
4. [] and as for me, he will establish me *b*[

4Q427 frg. 7 col. I 6-23
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 257-8
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 896

רע	] 6
תי	] 7
באלים	] 8
[בלשון יעודני	] 9
[רע לקדושים ולוא יבא	] 10
[ולכבודי לוא ידמה כן]א אני עם אלים מעמדני	] 11
12 [וכבוד או הדר לא בפז אכן] לי וכתם או ביורים לוא	] 12
13 [לוא יחשב בי זמרו ידידים שירו למלכ	] 13
14 [הכבוד שמחו בע]דת אל הרנינו באהלי ישועה הללו במעון	] 14
15 [קודש ר]וממו יחד בצבא עולם הבו גדול לאלנו וכבוד למלכנו	] 15
16 [הקדי]שו שמו בשפתי עוז ולשון נצח הרימו לבד קולכמה	] 16
17 [כ]ול קצימ השמיעו הגידנה הביעו בשמחות עולמים ואין	] 17
18 [ה]שבת השחוו ביחד קהל ברכו המפלי גאות ומודיע עוז ידו	] 18
19 [ל]חתום רזים ולגלות נסתרות להרימ כושלים ונופליהמה	] 19
20 [לש]ב לכת קוי דעות ולהשפיל נועדות רומ גאים עולם	] 20
21 [להת]ם רזי הנור [ולחק]נים פל]אות כבוד השופט באפ כלה	] 21
22 [בחסד צדקה וברוב רחמים תחנה	] 22
23 [רחמים למפרי טוב גודלו ומקור	] 23

6. [] d'
7. [] t'
8. [] among the gods
9. [] with a tongue he will testify (?) me
10. [] evil to the holy ones and will not come []
11. [and] is not comparable [to] my [glo]ry, f[or] I, with gods is [my] place
12. [and glory or hon]our, not with pure gold 'k[] for me,
and gold or precious metal (Ophir?) not
13. [] will not be reckoned for me.
Sing, O beloved ones, sing to the King of [glory]
14. [re]joice in the con]gregation of God,
ring out a cry of joy in the tents of salvation,
praise in the [holy] habitation.
15. [ex]alt together with the eternal host,
ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our King.
16. [sanc]tify his name with strong lips and powerful tongue,
lift up your voices together [at a]ll times,
17. proclaim the sound of a ringing cry? of joy,
rejoice with eternal joy
18. and unceasingly bow down together in the congregation,
bless the one who does majestic wonders and who makes known the strength of his hand,
19. [to] seal up mysteries and to reveal hidden things,
to raise up those who stumble and those of them who fall.
20. [to bring ba]ck the way of those who wait for knowledge,
and to humiliate the exalted meetings of the eternal proud.
21. [to make per]fect mysteries of maj[esty]
and to establ[ish] glorious [won]ders,
the one who judges with destructive wrath
22. [] with lovingkindness, righteousness and with the abundance of compassion, favour
23. [] compassion for those who make ineffectual his great goodness, and a fountain [

- 4 [] ואין נעויות בלוא דעת הופיע אור ושן []
 5 אבל ונס יגון הופיע שלום שבת פחד נפתח מקור לב[רכת עד]
 6 ומרפא בכול קצי עולם כלה עוון שבת נגע לאין מחלנה []
 7 [] [ענוד הש]מיעו ואמן[רו גדול []
 8 כיא השפיל גבהות רוח לאין שרית וירם מעפר אביון ל[]
 9 ועד שחקים יגבירהו בקומה ועמ אלים בעדת יחד ורפן []
 10 אפ לכלת עולם וכושלי ארצ ירים לאין מחיר וגבן []
 11 מצעדם ושמת עולם במכונהמה כבוד נצח ואין השבת []
 12 יומרו ברוכ אל הן [] [לאות גאות ומגדיל להופיע גבורן]
 13 בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהמה בדעתמה ברוב חסן []
 14 רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה אל הצדק והשכלנון []
 15 הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה בכוח גבורתכה והכרנו מן []
 16 רחמיכהם והפלא סליחות מה בשר לאלה ומה יחן []
 17 לספר אלה מקצ לקצ ולהתיצב במעמן []
 18 בני שמים ואין מליצ להשיבן []
 19 לכה כיא העמדתנו לרצן []
 20 לשמע נפלאותיכה []
 20 כוח להשיב לכה כן []
 21 דברנו לכה ולוא לאיש ביןנים []
 22 אוזנן [למוצא שפתינו השמין]עו []
 23 שמים בכוחו וכול מחשביהמה [] ארצ בגבורתו []

4. [] and there are no perversity without knowledge, light appears, and s[]
 5. mourning, and groaning flees, peace appears, terror ceases, a fountain is opened []
 6. and healing at all times of eternity, iniquity ends,
 plague ceases as there will be no sick[ness]
 7. [pro]claim and say: great []
 8. for he humbles the haughty spirit that there will be no remnant,
 and he lifts up from the dust the poor / []
 9. and up to the clouds he makes himself great in stature,
 and with gods in the congregation of the community and rp[]
 10. wrath for eternal destruction.
 And those who stumble on earth he lifts up without price and gb[]
 11. their step and eternal joy in their dwellings, everlasting glory and unceasingly []
 12. They say:
 Blessed be God h[] /'wt majesty and who magnifies himself by showing strength []
 13. with knowledge to all his creatures and goodness upon their faces,
 that they may know the abundance hs[]
 14. his compassion to all the sons of his truth.
 We have known you, God of righteousness, and we have gained insight []
 15. glory, for we have seen your zeal in the power of your might
 and we have recognised m[]
 16. your compassion and wonderful forgiveness.
 What is flesh to these things? and what yh[]
 17. to recount these things from time to time,
 and to take a stand in pla[ce]
 18. the sons of heavens and there is no mediator to bring back []

19. to you, for you have made me stand *lrš*[]
20. strength to hear wonderful things (to bring back to you) *k*[]
21. we have spoken to you and not to an inter[mediary]
22. an ear to the utterance of our lips. Procl[aim]
23. the heavens by his power and all their plans [] the earth by [his] strength []

4Q427 frg.8 1-4

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 259

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 898

ה נעוה בדעת לבין	] 1
ואשכחה נגע מכאובין	] 2
טרו לא אזכור עוד ולוא	] 3
ה לפניכה	] 4

1. [] *h* perverted in the knowledge of my heart [
2. [] and I will forget the affliction of my pain [
3. [] *trw* I will not remember any more and not [
4. [] *h* before you [

4Q427 frg.14 1-6

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 261

ע רב	] 1
שפתי לוא מ	] 2
אל רב עלי מיד ר	] 3
בשפתי ולשוני	] 4
דברי שננתה כחון	] 5
תה [יתחן	] 6

1. [] ' many [
2. [] *špty* not *m*[
3. [] 'I many against me, from the hand *r*[
4. [] through my lips and my tongue [
5. [] my words, you have sharpened *khw*[
6. [] *th*[] *yth*[

4Q428 frg.1 1-2

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 262

גבורתןם ויפולו מגבור	] 1
חכמים בערמתם ו	] 2

1. [] their might and they fall from *gbwr*[
2. [] wise men in their craftiness and [

4Q428 frg.7 1-12

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 264

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 898-900

- 1 חוקי ותקראני
- 2 ובהמון רחמיכה לכן
- 3 הוריתי באשמת מעל
- 4 לרוב נדה ומנעורי בדרן
- 5 אלי כוננתה רגלי בדרך
- 6 אוזני ולבי להבין באמתכה
- 7 אוזן בלמודיכה עד אשר
- 8 דעת הכינ[ו]תה מתכמי וכן
- 9 לו עוד למכשול עוון כי תגן
- 10 לעד כיא לוא []ם דרכי כן
- 11 א[וד]כה ארוני כי
- 12 ביבשה ומב[וע] מים בארץ

1. my prescribed statutes, and you have called me [
2. and in the abundance of your compassion *lk*[
3. I have been cast in guilt of treachery [
4. with the abundance of impurity, and from my youth *bd*[
5. My God, you have established my feet in the path [
6. my ear and my heart to understand [your] truth [
7. ear at your teaching until [
8. knowledge you have established in my bowels and *k*[
9. to him more for the stumbling-block of iniquity, for *tg*[
10. forever, for not []*m* ways of *k*[
11. I [gi]ve you thanks, O Lord, for [
12. in a dry land and a spr[ing] of waters in a land [

4Q428 frg.8 1-5

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 264

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 900

- 1 שמכ
- 2 ישמיעו [י]חד [בק]ול רנה ואין []
- 3 תמצא ע[] כה תופיע לכבוד עד ושלו
- 4 א[דוני אשר נתתה]
- 5 []

1. *šmk*[
2. they proclaim [to]gether [with vo]ice of ringing cry and there is none [
3. be found '[]*kh* will be shined forth for eternal glory and peace [
4. L]ord, that you have given [
5.]

4Q429 frg.1 col I 1-3

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 265

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 900

- 1 [רים ותשימני במגורי]
- 2 [על [פני] מים וצידים]

1. []rym and you have set me in a dwelling
2. [] on the [face] of the waters and hunters
3. []mt you have confirmed

4Q429 frg.1 col II 1-5

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 265

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 900

- 1 בי]
- 2 במצרף כן
- 3 נופחים לטהור]
- 4 עמים במצוקותמה]
- 5 [א]לני ת[שב סערה לן

1. through me [
2. into the crucible like [
3. the smiths, to be purified [
4. peoples with their afflictions [
5. [my G]od, [you] turn the tempest I[

4Q429 frg.1 col III 7-12

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 266

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 900-2

- 7] נה[
- 8 יחשבו ודברי בן
- 9 כחמת תנינים פורחת לקצים וכן
- 10 עפר יורי לחתוף מבלגות פתנים לאין
- 11 [חוב]ר ותהי לכאיב אנוש ונגע נמאר
- 12 [בתמכי] עבדכה להכשיל רוח ולהתם

7. []nh[
8. they devise, and the words of b[
9. like the venom of vipers which breaks forth from time to time and like [
10. the dust they aim to seize the smiles of asps
11. which cannot be [charmed]. And it becomes an incurable pain and a malignant wound
12. [in the bowels of] your servant, causing the spirit to stumble, and making an end of

4Q429 frg.1 col IV 1-12

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 266-7

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 902

- 1 [כוח ל]בלתי החזק מן
- 2] ת ויהמו בכנור ריבין
- 3 [זל]עופות אחזוני וחבלים [כצי]רי]
- 4 [ו]לשוני לחכי דבקה כי סבבוני בחן

1. [strength so that] he could not hold firm to *m* [
2. [] *t* and they have roared forth complaint against me with the lyre [
3. [Hot in]dignation has seized me and pains like the pangs of [
4. [and] my tongue has cleaved to the roof of (my) mouth, for they have surrounded me *b/h* [
5. [and] the light of my countenance [has been dimmed] into darkness and my glory [
6. you have [op]ened a wide space in my heart and they have increased it to *sw* [
7. [the] bread of sighing, and my drink is tears [
8. [by the bitter]ness of the day. Sighing and sorrow [
9. [my bread into strife] and my dri[nk] into conten[tion
10. [strength, according to the mysteries of transgression, those who have changed] the works of [
11. [that cannot be torn ap]art and fetters *hw* [
12. [that cannot] be opened [

4]	[ור עולם לן]
5]	[ני עולן]
6	
7	
8]	[צניויתם] [דרכמה
9]	[י לכו] [ערל וטמאן]
10]	[ויתמוטטון] מדרך לבכה]
11]	[לו יכמו ויעץ] בליעל עם לבבם]
12]	[רשעה ויתגולגולון] באשמתם]

- 4Q429 frg.2 col II 1-12
Wacholder-Abegg 2, 267-8
García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 902-4

[	1
וכל מן	2
להשיבן	3
ויהם תן	4
ואן	5
[	6
סודי]	7
משקלת]	8
לן [עוז ללון	9
ימוטו כי לן	10
ובריחי עוז]	11
בכלי מןלחמתו עד תום כל חן	12

1.]
2. and all *m* [
3. to return [
4. and it roared *t* [
5. and ' [
6.]
7. my foundation [
8. plumbline [
9. */* [] strong */w* [
10. stumble for */* [
11. [] and strong bolts [
12. with its weapons of *w[a]r* until all [] be destroyed.

4Q430 frg.1 1-7

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 279

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 904

בו [ו]ידרן	] 1
ש ולענה [ב]מחשב[ות]ם ]	] 2
ומכשול עוונם שמו לנגד פני[הם	] 3
כזב מפותי תעות והם בלן	] 4
ל מעשיהם בין	] 5
י אמרנו ל[חזון דעת ]	] 6
תענה ל[ה]ם ]	] 7

1. [] *bw* [and] *ydr* [
2. [] *š* and wormwood [in their] thoughts [
3. [] and the stumbling-block of their iniquity they set before [their] faces [
4. [] falsehood, persuaded by error. And they, *bl* [
5. [] */* their deeds, for [
6. [] *y* [they] said [of] the vision of knowledge [
7. [] you will answer [th]em

4Q431 frg.1 1-9

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 280

1	ותמה רשעה]
2	בה שבת נוגש בזעם]
3	[נ]עוות בלוא דעת הופיע אור ושמחה ת]
4	] ה[ופיע שלום שבת פחד נפתח מקור לברכת עד
5	]ל[] עולם כלה עוון שבת נגע לאין מחלה נאספ[ה]
6	] לוא י[היה עוד השמיעו ואמורו גדול אל עושה
7	] רום לאין שרית וירם מעפר אביון
8	]ש[חקים וגביה בקומה ועם אלים בעדת]
9	]ל[כ]לת עולם וכושלי ארץ]

1. And wickedness comes to an end [
2. in it oppression ceases with indignation [
3. wickedness without knowledge, light will shine forth and gladness t[
4. [] peace will [shine forth], terror will cease, the fountain will be opened to eternal blessing
5. []/[] eternal, iniquity will end, plague will cease without sickness remo[ved]
6. [] will be [no] more. Proclaim and say, Great is the God who works
7. [] haughtiness without a remnant and he raises from dust the poor
8. [the cl]ouds and high in height and together with gods in the congregation [
9. [] to eternal de[stru]ction and those who stumble on earth.

4Q432 frg.1 1-4

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 281

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 906

1	]משמר גבורים ב[ילות]
2	]ובו[] פן יורה גב[
3	]ל. גבורתם ויפולו]
4	]תם ואני בתומ]

1. []watch the mighty men in joining (?) [
2. []wbw [] lest he shoots gb[
3. []l. their strength and they fall [
4. []tm and I btwm[

4Q432 frg.2 1-2

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 281

1	]שר הגברתה]
2	] דעת ונמהר[ים]

1. []šr you have done mightily [
2. [] the knowledge and the anxious [

4Q432 frg.3 1-5

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 282

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 906

1	] ישרתה בלבבי כול [
2	] אמת נגד עיני ומוכיחי צדק [
3	] מחין מכתי מנחמי כון [
4	] ל[ני]גוני מבשר שלום [
5	] למ[ן]ס לבבי ומ[

1. [] you have made straight in my heart all [
2. [] *mt* before my eyes and the reprovers of righteousness [
3. [] crushed by blows of the comforters of *kw*[
4. [] / my [so]rrow, proclaiming peace [
5. [] to dissolve my heart and *m*[

4Q432 frg.4 col I. 1-7

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 282

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 906

- 1 [ויושבי עפ]ר כיון[רדי י]מים נבעתים מחמון מים וח[כמיהם]
- 2 [כמלחים במ]צולות[כי] תתבלע כול חוכמתמה בה[מות ימים]
- 3 [בר]תוח תהוןמות על נבוכי מי[ם ו]נית[רגשו לרון]ם גלים ומשברי[
- 4 [מים] בחמון קון[לם]ם ובהתרגשם יפתחו ש [כול חצי]
- 5 [ש]חת עם מצעדם [לתהום ישמיעו קולם ו]יפתחו [שערי [
- 6 [] ל[] ב מעשני אפעה ויסגרו דלתי שחת ב[עד הר]נית עול[
- 7 [ובחירי עו]לם בענך כול רוחי אפעה

1. [and those who dwell on the du]st are like those go[ing down to the s]eas, terrified by the roar of the waters; and [their] wi[se men]
2. [are like sailors in the] deep[s for] swallowed up is all their wisdom in the ro[aring of the seas]
3. [when] the de[eps boil over the springs of water]s and they [ru]sh forth to lift [up waves and breakers]
4. with the roaring of [their] noi[se and when they rush forth, they open 5]/
5. [all the arrows of (5) the p]it, with their step, [to the deep they make their voice heard] [and the gates of] open
6. [] / [] b the work[s of the viper, and the doors of the pit close be]hind her that is preg[nant with injustice]
7. [and the bars of eter]nity be[hind all the spirits of the viper]

4Q432 frg.4 col. II 1-6

Wacholder-Abegg 2, 283

García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 906-8

- 1 [ומכמרת] חלכאים [על] פני מים בהת[עופף כול חצי שחת לאין השב]
- 2 [ויפרו לאין] תקוה בנפול קו על משנפט וגורל אף על נעזבים ומתך]
- 3 [חמה על] נעלמים וקו חרון לכול [בליעל וחבלי מות אפפו]
- 4 [לאין פלט וי]לכו נח[לני] בליעל על כונל אגפי רום כא[ש אוכלת
- 5 [שנאביהם] להתם כול עץ [לנח ויבש מפלגיהם והשו]ט בש[ביבי]
- 6 [להוב עד אפס] כול [

1. [and the net of] scoundrels [upon] the face of the waters, when [all the arrows of the pit fly forth without returning]

2. [and they burst forth without] hope, when the measuring line falls upon judge[ment]
[and the lot of wrath upon the forsaken]
3. [and the outpouring of (3) wrath against] the dissemblers
and the measuring line of burning anger for all [worthlessness]
4. [and the cords of death surround (4) without escape.]
[And the tor]rents [of Belial flow] over al[the high river banks, like fi]re which consumes
5. [their watering places] to destroy [every tree, green and] d[ry, from their channels.]
6. [and it ro]ves about with fl[ames of (6) fierce burning until there is none left of] all [

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aune, David E.
 1972 *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity*. Leiden: Brill.
- Avigad, N.
 1958 "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents." Pp. 56-87 in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin. SH 4. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Bardtke, Hans
 1956a "Considérations sur les Cantiques de Qumrân." *RB* 63: 220-33.
 1956b "Die Loblieder von Qumran." *TLZ* 81: 149-54, 589-604, 715-724.
 1956-7 "Das Ich des Meisters in den Hodajoth von Qumran." *WZU Leipzig* 6, 93-104.
 1957 "Die Loblieder von Qumran." *TLZ* 82: 339-48.
 1975 "Literaturbericht über Qumran IX. Teil: Die Loblieder (Hodajoth) von Qumran." *TLR* 40: 210-226.
 1976 "Literaturbericht über Qumran X. Teil: Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit und die Geschichte der Qumrangemeinde." *TLR* 41: 97-140.
- Barthélemy, D. and J. T. Milik, eds.
 1955 *Qumran Cave I*. DJD I. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Barton, John
 1992 "Form Criticism (OT)." *ABD* 2: 838-41.
- Baumgarten, Joseph and Menahem Mansoor
 1955 "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) - I, II." *JBL* 74: 115-24, 188-95.
 1956 "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) - III." *JBL* 75: 107-13.
- Becker, Jürgen
 1963 *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament*. SUNT 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Berlin, Adele
 1985 *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Betz, Otto.
 1956-7 "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer." *NTS* 3: 314-26.
- Birnbaum, Solomon A.
 1952 "The Date of the Hymns Scrolls." *PEQ* 84: 94-103.
- Black, Matthew
 1961 *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.

- Botterweck, G. Johannes
1974 "אֶבְרִיָּה." *TDOT* 1: 27-41.
- Bregman, Marc
1979 "Another Reference to 'A Teacher of Righteousness' in Midrashic Literature." *RevQ* 10: 97-102.
- Brooke, George J.
1987 "The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?" Pp. 85-100 in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis*. Ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
1990a "Dead Sea Scrolls." *DBI*: 166-70.
- Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs
1907 *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin Co., 1907.
- Brown, Raymond E.
1969 "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)." Pp. 37-44 in *The Scrolls and Christianity*. Ed. Matthew Black. Theological Collections 11. London: S.P.C.K.
1989 "Dead Sea Scrolls." *NJBC*: 1068-77.
- Brownlee, William H.
1951 "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls." *BA* 14: 54-76.
1952 "The Historical Allusions of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash." *BASOR* 126: 10-20.
1979 *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk*. SBLMS 24. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
1982 "The Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher – The Problem of Identity." *JQRS* 73: 1-37.
- Buchanan, George W.
1969 "The Priestly Teacher of Righteousness." *RevQ* 6: 553-8.
1977 "The Office of Teacher of Righteousness." *RevQ* 9: 241-3.
- Burgmann, Hans
1979-81 "Wer War Der 'Lehrer Der Gerechtigkeit'?" *RevQ* 10: 553-78.
- Burrows, Millar
1956 *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Secker & Warburg.
1958 *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Callaway, Phillip R.
1988 *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation*. JSPSup 3. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Carmignac, Jean
1958 "Remarques sur le texte des Hymnes de Qumran." *Bib* 39: 139-55.
1958-59 "Localisation des fragments 15, 18, et 22 des Hymnes." *RevQ* 1: 425-30.
1959-60a "Compléments au Texte des Hymnes de Qumran." *RevQ* 2: 267-76, 549-58.
1959-60b "Étude sur les Procédés Poétiques des Hymnes." *RevQ* 2: 515-32.

- 1959-60c "Les Citations de L'ancien Testament, et Spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur, dans Les Hymnes de Qumran." *RevQ* 2: 357-94.
- 1959-60d "Les Éléments Historiques des 'Hymnes' de Qumran." *RevQ* 2: 205-22.
- 1961 *Les Textes de Qumran*. Vol 1. Trans. J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert. Paris: Letouzey et Ané.
- 1962 *Christ and the Teacher of Righteousness*. Trans. Katharine Greenleaf Pedley. Baltimore: Helocon Press.
- 1980 "Qui Était le Docteur de Justice?" *RevQ* 10: 235-46.
- Chamberlain, John V.
- 1955a "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm." *JNES* 14: 32-41.
- 1955b "Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran." *JNES* 14: 181-2.
- Charlesworth, James H.
- 1980 "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes." *RevQ* 10: 213-33.
- 1986 "Jewish Hymns, Odes, and Prayers." Pp. 411-36 in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*. Ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg. Atlanta: Scholars.
- 1991 *Graphic Concordance of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- 1992a "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Has-sedeq (1QH 8:4-11)." Pp. 295-307 in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. Ed. Michael Fishbane, Emanuel Tov, and W.W. Fields.
- 1992b "Jesus as "Son" and the Righteous Teacher as "Gardener"" Pp. 140-75 in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. James H. Charlesworth. New York: Doubleday.
- Chazon, Esther G.
- 1998 "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pp. 244-70 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam. Leiden: Brill.
- Chester, Andrew
- 1988 "Citing the Old Testament." Pp. 141-69 in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*. Ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson. Cambridge: University Press.
- Clines, David
- 1995 "גורר." *DCH* 2: 336-7.
- Collins, John J.
- 1984 *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. New York: Crossroad.
- 1989a "Old Testament Apocalypticism and Eschatology." *NJBC*: 298-304.
- 1989b "The Origin of the Qumran Community: A Review of the Evidence." Pp. 159-78 in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* Ed. Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski. New York: Crossroad.
- 1990 "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" Pp. 25-66 in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman. JSPSup 8. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

- 1992a "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism." *ABD* 1: 279-88.
 1992b "Dead Sea Scrolls." *ABD* 2: 86-101.
 1995 *The Scepter and The Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. New York: Doubleday.
- Craigie, P. C.
 1983 *Psalms 1-50*. WBC 19. Waco, TX: Word Books.
- Croft, Steven J. L.
 1987 *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms*. JSOTSup 44. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Cross, Frank M.
 1949 "The Newly Discovered Scrolls in the Hebrew University Museum in Jerusalem." *BA* 12: 36-46.
 1995 *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. 3d ed. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Dahood, Mitchell
 1966 *Psalms I. 1-50*. AB 16. Garden City: Doubleday.
 1968 *Psalms II. 51-100*. AB 17. Garden City: Doubleday.
 1970 *Psalms III. 101-150*. AB 17A. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Davies, P. R.
 1987 *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
 1988 "The Teacher of Righteousness and the 'End of Days'." *RevQ* 13: 313-7.
 1991-92 "Communities at Qumran and the Case of the Missing 'Teacher'." *RevQ* 15: 275-86.
- Delcor, M.
 1962 *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané.
- Del Medico, H. E.
 1958 *The Riddle of the Scrolls*. Trans. H. Garner. London: Burke.
- DeVries, S. J.
 1964-66 "The Syntax of Tenses and Interpretation in the Hodayoth." *RevQ* 5: 375-414.
- De Menasce, J. P.
 1958-59 "Un mot Iranien dans les Hymnes." *RevQ* 1: 133-34.
- Dimant, Deborah
 1984 "Qumran Sectarian Literature." Pp. 483-550 in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*. Ed. Michael E. Stone. CRINT 2. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
 1994 "A Synoptic Comparison of Parallel Sections in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11 and 4Q471B." *JQR* 85:157-61.
- Douglas, Michael C.
 1998 "Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Driver, G. R.
 1965 *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and A Solution*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Dupont-Sommer, A.
 1952 *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Trans. E. Margaret Rowley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
 1957 *Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (IQH)*. Semitica VII. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
 1961 *The Essene Writings from Qumran*. Trans. G. Vermes. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Ehlen, Arlis J.
 1969 "The Poetic Structure of a Hodayah from Qumran: An Analysis of Grammatical, Semantic, and Auditory Correspondence in 1 QH 3:19-36." Th.D. diss., Harvard University.
- Eissfeldt, Otto
 1966 *The Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the works of similar type from Qumran*. Trans. Peter R. Ackroyd. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Elliott-Hogg, Malcolm E.
 1986 "The Poetry of Isaiah 40-45: A Typology of Parallelism." Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College.
- Elwolde, John
 1999 "Some Lexical Structures in 1QH: Towards a Distinction of the Linguistic and the Literary." Pp. 77-116 in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1997*. STDJ 33. Ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill.
- Eshel, Esther
 1999 "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn." Pp. 619-35 in *The Provo International Conference of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*. STDJ 30. Ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich. Leiden: Brill.
- Fishbane, Michael
 1988a *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon.
 1988b "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran." Pp. 339-419 in *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Ed. M. Mulder. CRINT 1. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Fitzmyer, J. A.
 1960-61 "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament." *NTS* 7: 297-333.
 1992 "The Gathering in the Community's Teacher." *Maarv* 8: 223-8.
- Flusser, David
 1984 "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers." Pp. 551-77 in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*. Ed. Michael E. Stone. CRINT 2. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- García Martínez, Florentino
 1993 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*. Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.

- García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.)
 1997 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Vol 1. Leiden: Brill.
 1998 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Vol 2. Leiden: Brill.
- García Martínez, Florentino and A. S. Van Der Woude
 1989-90 "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History."
RevQ 14: 521-41.
- Gaster, Theodor H.
 1957 *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Gevaryahu, Chaim M. J.
 1973 "The Parable of the Trees and the Keeper of the Garden in the Thanksgiving Scroll." *Immanuel* 2: 50-7.
- Geller, S.
 1979 *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Gesenius, William
 1850 *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster.
- Gibson, J. C. L.
 1994 *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Syntax*. 4d ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Ginsberg, H. L.
 1967 "Biblical Aramaic." Pp. 16-47 in *An Aramaic Handbook: Part I/2*. Ed. Franz Rosenthal. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Glanzman, George
 1952 "Sectarian Psalms from the Dead Sea." *TS* 13: 487-524.
- Gluskina, Lea N.
 1991 "The Teacher of Righteousness in Joseph Amussin's Studies." Pp. 7-21 in *Mogilany 1989 Part II: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls offered in memory of Jean Carmignac*. Ed. Zdzislaw J. Kapera. Kraków, Poland: The Enigma Press.
- Greenfield, Jonas C.
 1959-60 "The Root 'GBL' in Mishnaic Hebrew and in the Hymnic Literature from Qumran." *RevQ* 2: 155-62.
- Gunkel, Hermann
 1967 *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*. Trans. Thomas M. Horner. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Habel, Norman
 1971 *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Habermann, A. M. (ed.).
 1960 מגילות מדבר יהודה. Jerusalem: Machbaroth Lesifrut.
- Hanson, Paul D.
 1975 *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Hinson, Glenn
 1960 "Hodayoth, III,6-18: In What Sense Messianic?" *RevQ* 2: 183-203.

- Hoenig, Sidney B.
1966-68 "Textual Readings and Meanings in Hodayot (1 Q H)." *JQR* 57-58: 309-16.
- Holladay, William L.
1971 *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
1993 *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend
1960a *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget.
1960b "The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmic Tradition." *ST* 14: 1-53.
1963 "'Ich' in den Hodayoth und die Qumrangemeinde." Pp. 217-29 in *Qumran-Probleme*. Ed. Hans Bardtke. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Honeyman, A. M.
1953 "Notes on a Teacher and a Book." *JJS* 4: 131-2.
- Hopkins, D. Dombkowski
1979-81 "The Qumran Community and 1 Q Hodayot: A Reassessment." *RevQ* 10: 323-64.
- Horgan, Maurya P.
1979 *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. CBQMS 8. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Horgan, Maurya P. and Paul J. Kobelski
1989 "The Hodayot (1QH) and New Testament Poetry." Pp. 179-93 in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* Ed. Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski. New York: Crossroad.
- Hübner, Hans
1971-72 "Anthropologischer Dualismus in den Hodayoth?" *NTS* 18: 268-84.
- Hyatt, J. Philip
1955-56 "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'." *NTS* 2: 276-84.
- Jastrow, Marcus
1926 *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London: Shapiro, Vallentine & Co.
- Jeremias, Gert
1963 *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*. SUNT 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Johnson, A. R.
1951 "The Psalms." Pp. 162-209 in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*. Ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: University Press.
- Kautzsch, E. and A. E. Cowley
1910 *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Kister, Menahem
1992 "Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations and Pesharim." Pp. 27-39 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. STDJ 10. Ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. Leiden: Brill.

- 1998 "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and its Implications." Pp. 101-111 In *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use & Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 28. Ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon. Leiden: Brill.
- Kittel, Bonnie P.
1981 *The Hymns of Qumran*. SBLDS 50. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Knibb, Michael E.
1988 *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1990 "The Teacher of Righteousness – A Messianic Title?" Pp. 51-65 in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*. Ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White. JSOTSup 100. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Kraft, Charles F.
1957 "Poetic Structure in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms." *BR* 2: 1-18.
- Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang
1966 *Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil*. SUNT 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kuhn, K. G.
1960 *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
- Kutscher, E. Y.
1967 "Jewish Palestinian Aramaic." Pp. 52-76 in *An Aramaic Handbook: Part I/2*. Ed. Franz Rosenthal. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Laurin, Robert B.
1958 "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hodayot'." *JSS* 3: 344-55.
- Licht, Jacob
1956 "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll." *IEJ* 6: 1-13, 89-101.
1957 מגילת הודיות. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- Lim, Timothy H.
1990 "Eschatological Orientation and the Alteration of Scripture in the Habakkuk Peshier." *JNES* 49: 185-94.
1992 "The Qumran Scrolls: Two Hypotheses." *Studies in Religion* 21: 455-66.
1993 "The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis." *JBL* 112/3: 415-25.
1997a "Midrash Peshier in the Pauline Letters." Pp. 280-92 in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*. Ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans. JSPSup 26. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
1997b *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*. Oxford: University Press.
- Lim, Timothy H. and Philip S. Alexander (eds.)
1997 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*. Vol 1. Oxford: University Press.
- Lohfink, Norbert
1990 *Lobgesänge der Armen: Studien zum Magnifikat, den Hodayot von Qumran und einigen späten Psalmen*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 143. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH.

- Lohse, Eduard
 1971 *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch mit masoretischer Punctuation: Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen.* 2d ed. Munich: Kösel-Verlag.
- Maier, Johann
 1960 *Die Texte vom Toten Meer, I-II.* Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag.
 1985 *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary.* JSOTSup 34. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
 1996 *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit.* Münster: Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
- Mansoor, Menahem
 1955 "Two More New Psalms as Translated from the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Commentary*: 368-9.
 1957 "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns), IV." *JBL* 76: 139-48.
 1961 *The Thanksgiving Hymns.* Leiden: Brill.
 1964 *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* Leiden: Brill.
- Martin, Malachi, S.J.
 1958 *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* 2 Vols. Louvain: Publications Universitaires.
- McKenzie, John L.
 1968 *Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes.* AB 20. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Merrill, Eugene H.
 1975 *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns.* Leiden: Brill.
- Milik, J. T.
 1959 *Tens Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea.* Trans. John Strugnell. London: SCM Press.
- Minde, H.-J. V. D.
 1992 "Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH)." Trans. Philip R. Callaway. *ABD* 6: 438-41.
- Montaner, Luis Vegas
 1992 "Some Features of the Hebrew Verbal Syntax in the Qumran Hodayot." Pp. 273-86 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, vol. 1. Ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill.
 1994 "Quelques Structures Syntaxiques des Hodayot Parfait et imparfait non initiaux." Pp. 287-304 in *New Qumran Texts & Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992.* STDJ 15. Ed. George Brooke. Leiden: Brill.
- Morawe, Günter
 1961 *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodayoth.* Theologische Arbeiten 16. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

- 1963 "Vergleich des Aufbaus der Danklieder und Hymnischen Bekenntnislieder (1QH) von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spätlejudentum." *RevQ* 15: 323-56.
- Mowinckel, S.
 1956 "Some Remarks on Hodayot 39.5-20." *JBL* 75: 265-76.
 1962 *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*. 2 Vols. Trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu
 1985 *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press.
 1997 "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew." Pp. 92-149 in *The Hebrew of The Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11-14 December 1995*. STDJ 26. Ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill.
- Murphy, Roland
 1958a "Šahat in the Qumran Literature." *Bib* 39: 61-6.
 1958b "Yeser in the Qumran Literature." *Bib* 39: 334-344.
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome
 1974 "The Essenes and their History." *RB* 81: 215-44.
 1976 "Demetrius I and the Teacher of Righteousness." *RB* 83: 399-420.
 1985 "The Damascus Document Revisited." *RB* 92: 223-46.
 1986 "The Judean Desert." Pp. 119-56 in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*. Ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
 1992 "Teacher of Righteousness." *ABD* 6: 340-1.
- Nebe, G. Wilhelm
 1985 "Zu 77 in 1 QH IX, 5." *RevQ* 12: 115-8.
- Neusner, J.
 1987 *What is Midrash?* Ed. Dan O. Via. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Newsom, Carol A.
 1990a "Kenneth Burke Meets the Teacher of Righteousness: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hodayot and the Serek Ha-Yahad." Pp. 121-31 in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*. Ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin. Maryland: University Press of America.
 1990b "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran." Pp. 167-87 in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*. Ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and David N. Freedman. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E.
 1992 "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)." Pp. 649-59 in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, vol. 2. Ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill.
- Nielsen, Eduard
 1974 "1 QH, V, l. 20-27: An Attempt at Filling Out Some Gaps." *VT* 24: 240-3.
- Nitzan, Bilhah
 1994 *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*. STDJ 12. Trans. Jonathan Chipman. Leiden: Brill.

- Nötscher, Friedrich
1958 "Hodajot (Psalmenrolle)." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 2: 128-33.
- Otzen, B.
1975 "יִצְרָ." *TDOT* 6: 257-265.
- Patte, Daniel
1975 *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*. SBLDS 22. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Petersen, David L. and Kent Harold R.
1992 *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Pleines, J. David
1992 "Poor, Poverty." *ABD* 5: 402-14.
- Ploeg, J. van der
1953 "Rûm 'ôlam, 1 QH iii 20." *VT* 3: 191-2.
1958 *The Excavations at Qumran*. Trans. Kevin Smyth. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Puech, Émile.
1988a "Un Hyne Essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: 1QH V 12 – VI 18 (= col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4Q Béat." *RevQ* 13: 59-88.
1988b "Quelques Aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)." *JJS* 39: 38-55.
1993 *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien*, vol. 2, *Les données qumraniennes et classiques*. Études Bibliques 22. Paris: J. Gabalda.
1993-95 "Restauration d'un Texte Hymnique à partir de Trois Manuscrits Fragmentaires: 1QH^(a) xv 37 - xvi 4 (vii 34 - viii 3), 1Q35 (H^b) 1, 9-14, 4Q428 (H^b) 7." *RevQ* 64/16: 543-58.
- Qimron, Elisha
1986 *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Rabin, C.
1952 "The 'Teacher of Righteousness' in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarches'?" *JJS* 3: 127-8.
- Rabinowitz, I.
1958 "The Guides of Righteousness." *VT* 8: 391-404.
- Rainbow, Paul A.
1997 "The Last Oniad and the Teacher of Righteousness." *RevQ* 48: 30-52 .
- Reeves, John C.
1988 "The Meaning of Moreh Sedeq in the Light of 11QTorah." *RevQ* 13: 287-98.
- Ringgren, Helmer
1995 *The Faith of Qumran*. exp. ed. Trans. Emilie T. Sander. New York: Crossroad.
- Roberts, Bleddyn J.
1968 "Bible Exegesis and Fulfilment in Qumran." Pp. 195-207 in *Words and Meanings*. Ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars. Cambridge: University Press.

- Rosenthal, Franz
1983 *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Russell, D. S.
1964 *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*. London: SCM Press.
1967 *The Jews from Alexander to Herod*. Oxford: University Press.
- Sanders, E. P.
1992 *Judaism: Practice & Belief 63BCE - 66CE*. London: SCM Press.
- Schuller, Eileen
1986 *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*. HSS 28. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
1990 "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran." Pp. 133-43 In *Of Scribes and Scrolls*. Ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin. Maryland: University Press of America.
1992 "The Psalm of 4Q372 1 within the Context of Second Temple Prayer." *CBQ* 54: 67-80.
1993a "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i+ii." *JBL* 112: 605-28.
1993b "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran." Pp. 153-71 in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. Eugene Ulrich and James Vanderkam. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
1994 "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description." *JQR* 85:137-50.
1995 "A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b (4Q428 7)." *RevQ* 64/16: 527-41.
1996 "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description." Pp. 87-100 in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature*. Ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1998 "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions." Pp. 207-222 in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use & Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 28. Ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon. Leiden: Brill.
1999 "HODAYOT." Pp. 69-232 in *Qumran Cave 4. XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part II*. DJD XXIX. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Schulz, Paul
1974 *Der Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit in Qumran*. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain.
- Schürer, Emil
1973 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. Vol I-II. Rev. and Ed. Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Schweitzer, Frederick M.
1991 "The Teacher of Righteousness." Pp. 53-97 in *Mogilany 1989 Part II: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls offered in memory of Jean Carmignac*. Ed. Zdzisław J. Kapera. Kraków, Poland: The Enigma Press.
- Segal, M. H.
1927 *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*. Oxford: Clarendon.

- Silberman, Lou R.
 1956 "Language and Structure in the Hodayot (1QH3)." *JBL* 75: 96-106.
- Smith, M.
 1961 "The Dead Sea Sect in relation to Ancient Judaism." *NTS* 7: 347-60.
- Sonne, I.
 1950-51 "A Hymn Against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls and its Gnostic Background." *HUCA* 23: 275-313.
- Stegemann, Hartmut
 1963 "Rekonstruktion der Hodayot. Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran." Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg University.
 1971 *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
 1990 "Method for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments." Pp. 189-220 in *The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman. JSPSup 8. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
 1991 "The 'Teacher of Righteousness' and Jesus: Two Types of Religious Leadership in Judaism at the Turn of the Era." Pp. 196-213 in . Ed. Shemaryahu Talmon. JSPSup 10. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
 1992 "The Qumran Essenes – Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in the Late Second Temple Times." Pp. 83-166 in *Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, vol. 1. Ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill.
 1994 "Jesus and the Teacher of Righteousness: Similarities and Differences." *Bible Review* 10: 42-47, 63.
 1998 *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Sukenik, E. L., ed.
 1955 *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*. Prep. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Swanson, Dwight D.
 1995 *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT*. STDJ 14. Leiden: Brill.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu
 1951 "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll." *Bib* 32:549-62.
- Tanzer, Sarah Jean
 1986 "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- Tate, Marvin E.
 1990 *Psalms 51-100*. WBC 20. Dallas, TX: Word Books.
- Thiering, Barbara
 1963 "The Poetic Forms of the Hodayot." *JSS* 8: 189-209.
 1972-75 "Suffering and Asceticism at Qumran, As Illustrated in the Hodayot." *RevQ* 8: 393-425.
 1979 *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness*. Sydney: Theological Explorations.

- Thorion, Y.
1982 "Der Vergleich in 1Q Hodayot." *RevQ* 11: 3-217.
- Thorion-Vardi, Talia
1983 "A Note on 1Q Hodayot IX 5." *RevQ* 11: 429-30.
- Tov, Emanuel
1988 "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism." *JJS* 39: 5-37.
- Trible, Phyllis
1994 *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*. Ed. Gene M. Tucker. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Tromp, Nicholas J.
1969 *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Ulfsgard, Håkan
1998 "The Teacher of Righteousness, The History of the Qumran Community, and our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories." Pp. 310-46 in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*. Ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. JSOTS 290. Copenhagen International Seminar 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Van Der Woude, A. S.
1982 "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary." *JJS* 33:349-59.
1996 "Once Again: The Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Pesher from Cave 1 of Qumran." *RevQ* 17:375-84.
- VanderKam, James C.
1994 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Vaux, R. de.
1973 *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: University Press.
- Vermes, Geza
1981 "The Essenes and History." *JJS* 32:18-31.
1994 *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*. 3d rev. ed. London: SCM Press.
1995 *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 4th ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Waard, J. de
1965 *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion
1983 *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.
1992 "Ezekiel and Ezekielianism as Progenitors of Essenianism." Pp. 186-96 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. STDJ 10. Ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. Leiden: Brill.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion and Abegg, Martin G.
1992 *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four Fascicle Two*. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society.

- Wächter, L.
1993 "תַּחֲתֵּי." *TWAT* 7: 1246-7.
- Wallenstein, Meir
1950 *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls*. Manchester: University Press.
1955 "A Hymn from the Scrolls." *VT* 5: 277-83.
1955-56 "A Striking Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls." *BJRL* 38: 241-65.
1957a *The NEZER and The Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.
1957b "Some Aspects of the Vocabulary and Morphology of the Hymns of the Judean Scrolls." *VT* 7: 209-13.
- Waltke, Bruce K. and M. O'Connor
1990 *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Watts, John
1985 *Isaiah 1-33*. WBC 24. Waco, TX: Word Books.
1987 *Isaiah 34-66*. WBC 25. Waco, TX: Word Books.
- Weiser, Artur
1962 *The Psalms*. The Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press.
- Williams, Gary Royce
1991 "Parallelism in the Hodayot from Qumran." Ph.D. diss., Annenberg Research Institute.
- Williams, Ronald J.
1976 *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wise, Michael O.
1990 "The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest of the Intersacerdotium: Two Approaches." *RevQ* 14: 587-613.
- Wise, Michael, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook
1996 *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. London: HarperCollins.
- Worgul, John E.
1986 "Parallelism in the Poetry of Isaiah 1-18." Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College.
- Yadin, Yigael
1957 *The Message of the Scrolls*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.